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# SCOTLAND'S RUINED ABBEYS



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# SCOTLAND'S RUINED ABBEYS

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SOMETIME LECTURER ON ARCHITECTURE IN PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, AND FELLOW OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES IN ROME

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY THE AUTHOR

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## To My Mother

whose advice and assistance have done much to further whatever of worth it contains This Book is Affectionately Dedicated

1.1

## PREFACE

The mediæval architecture of Scotland has been amply treated in books of more or less scientific character. Accurate descriptions of every historic edifice in the ancient realm can be found, and historical sketches are not lacking. But the material at hand dealing with this subject exists only in a form too bulky for general use. The pamphlets, on the other hand, which are to be had at the site of many of these ruins, are often too superficial and sometimes incorrect and not suited to the purpose of more deeply interested persons, while both classes have ignored the romantic interest which centres about these places from the rôles they play in the poetry and fiction for which Scotland has long been so famous.

It is the purpose of this book to place in convenient form, at the disposal of interested travellers among the ruins of North Britain, and of all to whom these ancient buildings are an object of pleasant memory, an accurate, though necessarily brief, history of each of the more important abbeys, with a careful description of its structure in the light of the most recent study and criticism.

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#### PREFACE

To this collection of facts and theories has been added whatever of traditional or romantic lore has been woven about the sites or the ruins as they stand, and for this reason quotations have been made directly from Scottish literature.

The work is the result of two summers spent in Scotland, during which the pleasure of looking up the historical and romantic side of the ruins manifested itself to the author, whose original interest in them had been purely from architectural motives.

The subject has been confined to the *ruined* abbeys, because restoration, in days when art did not flourish in Britain, has stripped many of the abbeys of every vestige of beauty and picturesqueness, while present use has broken the charm of romance.

The illustrations, most of them, were made by the author from the ruins themselves. A considerable number were taken from photographs. This has been noted in every case.

For the benefit of any who wish to read more widely upon the Scottish architecture of the Middle Ages I refer to the books of Messrs. McGibbon and Ross, whose works, in several volumes, upon Scottish mediæval architecture, will be found accurate and exhaustive, while the older works of Billings, upon the ecclesiastical and baronial architecture of Scotland, are full of interest and finely illustrated in the engravings of thirty years ago. The subject of ecclesiastical history, though avoided as much as possible, has been introduced here and there to explain certain conditions, historical or architectural. These references are quoted largely from the best authorities of the day, but the author can be held responsible only for such parts of the work as bear directly upon art history.

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# SCOTLAND'S RUINED ABBEYS

## CHAPTER I

#### INTRODUCTORY

THE tidal wave of architectural activity which swept over Europe in the latter half of the Middle Ages reached its highwater mark in the north of France; but the influence of its motion was felt, in diminishing degrees, in every direction from that centre. Its impetus toward the north was aided by the Norman conquest of England, whence it rolled on to break in ripples over the furthest shores of Scotland.

Few and meagre were the monastic edifices in Scotland at the end of the eleventh century; rude and primitive were the castles of the Scottish chiefs until Saxon England had become Norman England, and the effects of this change had revolutionized the whole of Great Britain. The Conqueror himself invaded Scotland, receiving homage from Malcolm III. A few years later the Norman king, Henry I., sought a Scottish bride, Matilda, daughter of Malcolm. This alliance became the entering wedge for Norman influence in Scotland. Matilda

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brought with her to the court of the English king her young brother David. Growing up amid Norman surroundings, receiving his education from a Norman bishop, David returned to Scotland, to become king in course of time, more Norman than Scot. Two features seem to have been infused into the character of David by his education: a devout religious enthusiasm and the Norman building spirit. Monumental evidence of this was given even before he became king. Returning from England he retired to Jedburgh, then the chief town of the Middle Marches, and there, in 1118, erected a beautiful and extensive abbey for the reception of an abbot with a large following of Benedictine monks from Beauvais.

What William the Norman was to the architecture of England, David I. was to that of Scotland. Upon his accession to the throne, in 1124, he made large grants of crown lands to the Church, founded abbeys at Holyrood, Kelso, Melrose, Newbattle, Kinloss, and Cambuskenneth; elevated the ancient abbey of Dunblane to the dignity of a cathedral; drove the Culdees from their church at Dunkeld and established there the seat of a bishopric. In fact, it is unusual to find an establishment in the whole domain that David did not either found or enrich. His excessive liberality toward the clergy, his zeal for founding churches and for the spreading of religion, caused him to be canonized in the hearts of his subjects, and under the title of St. David has he come down to us in history.

Comparatively few of the church edifices of St. David's building escaped the ravages of the wars with England under the Edwards, so that we are obliged to judge of the style of architecture during his reign from fragments incorporated with buildings of later date. But a single edifice preserves anything approaching a complete structure, — the abbey of Kelso. Here the style of Romanesque is so unique, so unlike anything of its kind across the border or on the Continent, that we are almost ready to place the style of David's reign apart, as a school of Romanesque by itself. The same general features are perceived in the earliest surviving portions of the abbeys of Holyrood, Dryburgh, Kinloss, and Dundrennan. They consist in an unusual degree of lightness manifested by the use of colonettes of exceeding slenderness, in the lavish use of mouldings, which depend for decorative effect upon depth of cutting rather than upon fantastic surface carvings, in which respect they are more like the true Gothic type, and in the naïve use of the pointed arch wherever exigencies of space or the demands of construction would seem to favour this form.

It is this tendency toward refinement and the unmistakable advance toward transition from Romanesque to Gothic seen in David's churches that would make certain other edifices in Scotland seem to belong to an earlier period. The principles of construction, the motives of decoration, and the whole character of these buildings, which we know to have been built in David's time, are entirely different from those of such buildings as the nave of Dunfermline, the choir of Jedburgh, and the famous little church of Dalmeny, where the construction is heavy and crude, the ornament profuse but barbaric. Instead of huge cylindrical piers we have in these later types composite supports or piers with engaged columns. In place of arches narrower in proportion and archivolts garnished with incised patterns, we see broad, deeply moulded arches in David's churches. The delicate interlacing arcades of Kelso and Dryburgh are substituted for series of heavy single arches, rich with dog-tooth and zigzag ornament supported by thick colonettes.

In short, these two groups of Romanesque buildings illustrate quite clearly the difference that existed between the social, and hence the artistic, condition of Scotland in the reign of Malcolm Canmore (1054–93) and in that of his youngest son David (1124–53). David had not only profited by English training at Winchester but he imported monastics from France, and these important facts must have influenced his extensive architectural exploits.

The next building monarch after David was his grandson William (1165–1214), under whom the pointed style was definitely introduced into the Kingdom. Some fine monuments of this period, though partly ruined, serve to illustrate the particular development of the Early English style in Scotland.

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#### INTRODUCTORY

Under William's son and grandson, Alexander II. and III., the pointed style was carried on with great richness and breadth, especially in the reign of the latter (1248–86), under whom the finest specimens of Gothic in the realm were erected.

This gradual expansion and steady growth in architectural development, which had covered some two hundred years and had raised the building art in the kingdom from a state of crude barbarity to one of refinement and even of splendour, met a severe check at the interregnum and the outbreak of King Edward's wars.

Scores of monastic edifices were totally demolished by the English armies, others only partially wrecked; some of these were restored, others not; but the monastic architecture of the lowlands in particular was in a frightful state of dilapidation when peace was at length reëstablished by King Robert the Bruce.

The resources of the Kingdom seem to have been drawn upon to a large extent by the Bruce to restore again to their pristine beauty the shrines of the low countries that had suffered most from the ravages of war.

At this stage it was that the decorated style of England and the flowing style of France found their way to Scotland, and though the proportion of the former is naturally much the larger, there are elements in the Scottish architecture of this period, in the sculptured details of its more decorative portions, that are plainly not of English origin, and find their only counterpart in the work of the French Gothic artists. Some of the loveliest architectural bits of this age are to be found among the ruins of the abbeys that Bruce restored at a time when Scotland was all alive with the glow of returning national life and with a religious fervour that had not existed since the days of the saintly King David.

It was at the beginning of this epoch that the societies of freemasons, commissioned by the Pope and sent abroad from Italy and France all over Christendom to build religious edifices, reached the North. Their influence is noticed in the improved character of the construction, in the careful working of the materials, and in the refinements of carving.

The advent of the house of Stuart to the Scottish throne was not marked by any activity in architecture that corresponded to the contemporary changes in England that produced the perpendicular. A few isolated examples of this work can be found on Scottish soil, but these are distinctly of English origin.

Toward the end of the monarchy as an independent government, various restorations were made in a weak and feeble way to repair the devastation of Henry VIII.'s crushing campaign, but by this time the Reformation was upon Scotland and the Church was soon torn up by its very roots. Naught remained

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of most of the abbeys but heaps of ruins. An attempt was made to conform a few of them to the requirements of the new faith by housing in a transept or chapter house, better preserved than the rest; but in a majority of cases the ruined buildings became the quarries for their several neighbourhoods, and the portions that remain to us were spared only because the supply of material was greater than the demand for it.

Such is a brief outline of the history of Scotland's abbeys. There is in this mediæval architecture of Scotland a certain originality that clothes it with special charm. Uncontrolled by the rigid and logical laws of development which, combined with extreme refinement, gave to French Gothic its chief beauty, quite free from the lines of greater freedom that guided the advance of the Gothic style across the border, it pursued a course purely individual, and reached a goal very different from and in many respects inferior to either, but in its way quite as interesting. It did not depend absolutely upon either of these sources for general methods of design or treatment of detail, but, borrowing generously from both, evolved new motives.

Nor did it follow closely in time the march of transition and growth of architecture in these countries, but set a pace of its own, which varied in the several parts of the Kingdom. Certain elements remain constant through all periods of development: the semicircular arch, for instance, is persistent from first to last; the Norman arch embellished with true Gothic mouldings is the commonest form of portal in all these abbeys.

An interesting feature of these ruined abbeys is the absence of modern restorations. In France and England almost all the finer examples of mediæval architecture have become national monuments, restored in every part; or are preserved, as Ruskin says, as mere specimens of the Middle Ages, put on a velvet carpet of green-shaven lawn to be looked at, and which, but for their size, might just as well be put on a museum shelf at once.

In Scotland the ruins are usually given simply sufficient protection and support to secure them from further decay, and stand, "feebly and fondly garrulous of better days" it is true; but still playing a rôle in history as in the natural landscape. In many cases they still live among the people, brooding over little hamlets, full of pathos, eloquent of history, the connecting link between the past and present.

The almost universal use of these ruined abbeys as places of interment for the families of the local gentry and the consequent crowding of the interiors with graves and monumental slabs is in keeping with the general practice throughout Great Britain.

This custom, which recalls the remark of Cardinal Newman, is doubtless partly the outgrowth of that admirable love for

#### INTRODUCTORY

the church edifice which seems to animate the British people, but it is one which, when carried to excess, most Englishmen deplore. There must be a limit somewhere to the capacity of these abbeys, as even of Westminster itself, for the tombs of succeeding generations of worthies and unworthies. Many of these tombs are a great disfigurement to these splendid monuments which we would think ought to be preserved and kept as the glorious heritage of our whole race regardless of titles or of land tenures.

## CHAPTER II

#### IONA

FAR beyond the highlands of the West, beyond the peaks of Mull and "lonely Colonsay," where the storms of Atlantic rage and the southern current brings tribute from the western world, girt about with eddying tides and whirlpools, beset with hidden reefs and rugged rocks where myriad sea-fowl rest, lies the tiny isle of Iona, long known by its Celtic names as I, Hy, or Inchcolm-Kill.

For upwards of a thousand years this bleak islet — one of Britain's bulwarks against the surges of the western sea — was one of the chiefest religious centres of the North of Europe, the goal of great pilgrimages from every kingdom, the hallowed resting-place of monarchs of many nations; for here had lived and died a saint of great repute, not only father of the Celtic Church in Scotia, but a founder of non-Romish Christianity in the West.

During the long centuries of the Middle Ages thousands of sail set yearly toward this distant shrine: the tiny skiffs of devoted pilgrims, the majestic ships of chiefs and Vikings,

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and sombre barges bearing the mortal remains of kings to their interment on the holy isle.

Here was not only the sacred shrine of St. Columba and a congregation of holy men who made this secure retreat their home and a centre of widespread missionary labour among the half-wild tribes of Britain, but a great institution of learning, which through the blackness of the Dark Ages trimmed the lamp of knowledge and cherished the flame until it shone as the brightest spot in Europe - an island lighthouse in a long night of world-wide ignorance and superstition. While Rome, crushed and laid waste by hordes of invading tribes of Lombards and Saracens, was struggling to avert utter annihilation, and the Roman Church languished under oppression and misgovernment; while Spain writhed under Moorish invasion; while France was torn by faction wars among Merowings and Carlings, and England suffered constant feuds and warfare between the petty chiefs of the Heptarchy; while invasion, sack, pillage, and plunder were the order of the day, and the history of Europe is one long chapter of violence and crime, the little island of Iona offered a refuge to all who were weary of the ceaseless turmoil, a fountain of learning to the studious, and a religious retreat to the devoutly inclined. Little wonder that a few feet of this peaceful soil were coveted by great monarchs for a final resting-place; little doubt that all, of every degree, who sought refreshment to the soul or food for the

mind, and could find means of reaching it, came to this wondrous fountain and storehouse of every good thing.

It was in the year 563 that St. Columba with his twelve devout companions set sail from Christian Ireland for pagan Scotland and beached their bark, to which they had given the name of *Curich*, within a little bay on the southern extremity of the island, called from the name of St. Columba's boat, Port-na-Curriach. Tradition has it that the saint first set foot upon a great boulder of beautiful greenish hue, a portion of which is preserved at the shrine; but the storms of centuries have broken the rock into thousands of emerald fragments and strewn them along the beach, and the natives of to-day prize them highly as charms against drowning. The island, which historians tell us had long been a centre of Druidical worship and the scene of the most horrible heathen rites and orgies, was a suitable spot in which to set up the cross and establish a religion of peace and gentleness. Fortified by nature against the attacks of enemies, it afforded far greater protection to the saintly company, who, even in their poverty and simplicity, would easily have fallen prey to the violence of some untamed tribe, than any spot upon the mainland.

He was no ordinary saint, like the multitude of canonized personages who preached the Gospel in Britain in the primitive days of Christianity, that landed on this little isle in the middle of the sixth century. In the history of Britain, nay, of Europe in those times, the figure of St. Columba stands out in clear-cut lines undiminished by any shade of mythical miracle workings, matchless for strength and spiritual beauty. "There came into Britain from Ireland," wrote the Venerable Bede less than a hundred years after the death of the saint, "a famous priest and abbot, a monk by habit and life, whose name was Columba, to preach the Word of God: a perfect sage, believing in Christ, learned, chaste, and charitable; he was noble, he was gentle, he was the physician of the heart of every sage, a shelter to the naked, a consolation to the poor; there went not from the world one who was more constant in the remembrance of the Cross."

Wonderful words these, a true pen portrait of a true saint, though made twelve hundred years ago, a vivid contrast to the ordinary "Lives" of mediæval saints, those garish pictures for the credulous, almost grotesque in their unintentional caricatures.

Columba had left Ireland confident that the island was in safe hands and its evangelization assured. He set his face toward a field almost untouched by Christian influence, one that opened a boundless expanse for missionary zeal; for, though the labours of St. Ninian, a fourth-century saint, had sown seed and borne fruit on the shores of Solway Firth and in parts of Lothian, the greater part of North Britain still remained in heathen darkness. It was St. Columba's plan to despatch his ministers singly and in various directions to bear the tidings of Christianity and to establish religious settlements wherever possible upon the mainland, with their head and centre at Iona; to keep a constant supply of monks at home for the training of younger men for the broader fields of labour, and to maintain the dignity of the parent church.

The intention of St. Columba was speedily fulfilled, and far more brilliantly than he could possibly have foreseen. Within a hundred years after St. Columba's death religious "cells," dependencies of Iona, had been established over all Scotland from north to south and well into Northumbria and Cumberland, and many of the early labourers had been canonized by Rome, of whom St. Cuthbert of Durham and St. Aidan, the converter of Northumbria, are the most familiarly known. St. Columba lived and laboured some four and thirty years at Iona and fell on sleep, but not until his feet had blessed the mountains of western Caledon and a hundred isles of the sea. The rude and slender craft of the special patron saint of mariners and those of his followers, hewn from hollowed logs or fashioned with wattles and skins, sailed from rockbound isle to frowning mull and penetrated the deep kyles or estuaries of that rugged coast, until the frail cockles with their symbolical cross-form rigging were known and welcomed by the savage Picts, and it became possible to set up religious retreats upon the mainland.

These primitive religious settlements were at first purely eremitical, that is, the monk lived in the cell which he had made and ministered to the needs spiritual of the people about him without assistance. Remains, and even preserved specimens of these bee-hive-shaped and simple cells are not wanting in various parts of Scotland and in the scattered islands of the Hebrides. The hermit monks came to be known as Culdees, a word variously derived from the Gaelic *ceile De*, "servant of God," and from the Latin *cultor Dei*, "worshipper of God." It was not until later years that monasteries were founded for and peopled by Culdees. In the seventh century we find St. Blane founding a Columban "house" at Dunblane, in the ninth King Kenneth McAlpin establishing one at Dunkeld, and in the eleventh King Malcolm Canmore establishing a monastery for thirteen Culdees at Dunfermline.

The monastery at Iona during the first three hundred years of its existence enjoyed the most tranquil prosperity and reached the distinction to which we have already alluded.

To this retreat of saintly men, to this home of learning, as we learn from the chronicler Fordun, were sent the young princes of Pictish royalty, sometimes for the laying on of holy hands, sometimes to be trained and educated for the duties of state. Brude was the first Pictish king to listen to Columba's words, and Donaldus was taken as a lad to be blessed by the aged saint.

It was in this way that in the history of barbaric Scotia of this time there now and again appears the figure of a king superior to his wild surroundings. And it was to these Ionanurtured monarchs that was due the gradual enlightenment of the Pictish tribes, the founding of a kingdom that a century or two later took important rank among the nations of Europe. The religious colony of St. Columba's founding waxed rich and powerful through the munificence of kings of many realms, even during the first abbot's lifetime. Its fame and influence spread with rapid strides, until saints and sages flocked to its blest retreat from distant shores. As a centre of learning Iona was second to none during the period while ancient classic lore was being supplanted by the Christian philosophy of the Church fathers. Many were the books and manuscripts that the industrious monks and their pupils laboriously transcribed and richly illuminated with matchless skill. Some of these escaped the ruin of later years and have come down to us: one of them, preserved in the Museum of Trinity College, Dublin, is a Book of Gospels inscribed in the saintly characters of Columba's own hand. As a school, the abbey of Iona had great renown, and we have record that there were often from three to five hundred students receiving instruction within its walls.

The cenobites, however, were more than preachers or teachers: they were experienced navigators, ploughing the unknown seas in their frail barks to discover Iceland and the far Faroe Islands. They were agriculturists, maintaining a large population within their little realm by the careful cultivation of its stony soil. They were architects, raising extensive edifices in that rude style adapted in barbaric fashion from the principles of building art introduced into Britain by the Romans, of which, unfortunately, almost no vestige remains in all Great Britain.

Iona continued to be the burial-place of Pictish royalty even as it had been in older pagan times. The bodies of kings from Fergus to Kenneth McAlpin all lie here, while monarchs of Ireland, Norway, and even France were brought hither over distant seas.

With the beginning of the ninth century the tide of war and devastation that so long had smothered Europe swept wildly toward Columba's peaceful isle and broke with fury upon the sacred strand where the Vikings' ships were moored. In 802, in the time of Abbot Connachtack, while Charlèmagne was being crowned at Rome and establishing a new empire, and the Church of Rome was taking fresh hope therefrom, the Norsemen swooped down upon the retreat, slew the defenceless cenobites, burnt their church and home, and carried off the sacred store of votive offerings, the gifts of long lines of kings. After this attack the colony was reëstablished, only to be destroyed again in 808. Again the successors of St. Columba

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took fresh heart, and under Abbot Cellah began a church of stone, as we are told, with a stronger, more defensible residence.

In this they found safe retreat for twenty years, until a third visit from piratical hordes levelled the monastery with the ground. Little is recorded of the Columban isle for many years after this blow. The chief centre of the Pictish Church was now removed to Dunkeld by Kenneth, king of the united Picts and Scots, and Iona, we may surmise, became but a simple cell.

That a religious seat was maintained on the island we may be sure, for the list of the Columban abbots preserves an unbroken line through all these years of strife, and the sacred shrine of St. Columba, though sadly ruined, kept a truce between Norseman and Islander when a Pictish or Scottish king died, for royal burials were still performed at the holy isle.

But Iona was now in the grasp of the Norsemen, and a part of the Norwegian Kingdom of the Isles. The Columban Church, no more an object of pirates' greed, was no longer harassed by the sea-rovers, but no more was it cherished or fostered by them. In 1074 we hear of Margaret, the sainted queen of Malcolm III., making gifts to the shrine for rebuilding the abbey.

There appears to have been considerable activity upon the island from this time, while the powerful Malcolm Canmore held the Norsemen at bay, until that monarch's death. Almost nothing is recorded of the abbey at Iona during the first fifty years of the twelfth century, until the Pictish natives of the isle began to rebel under the rule of Godred, their Norwegian king, and called upon Somerled, king of Argyle, to assist them in throwing off his burdensome yoke. In 1165 a great battle was fought between the Picts and Norwegians, which ended the sway of Godred over the inner Hebrides and freed Iona from foreign oppression.

With the accession of David I., the supremacy of Rome had been established in Scotland, and the Culdees wherever established had been forced to make room for "regular" canons, just as the Saxon clergy in England had to give way to Norman successors.

Latin names, like Johannes and Celestinus, take the place of the Celtic Dunchadh or Innrechtach upon the lists of the abbots, and the whole character of the church becomes Latinized. Rome, for many centuries not unfavourable to the Columban Church, now began to grow wary of its growth and took gradual steps to suppress it.

The Culdees, too, on the mainland were themselves learning "regular" ways and began to lose their individuality, but at Columba's shrine, and on the islands of the West, the non-Romish Church held its own for nearly a hundred years, while the Columbites were promptly ousted from their new centre at Dunkeld and replaced by an Anglo-Norman bishop, canons, and chapter.

In 1202 Reginald, Lord of the Isles, son or grandson of old Somerled who had wrested Iona from Norwegian sway, a faithful vassal of William the Lion King, trained at court in the ways of the new Scottish Church, rebuilt the crumbling walls of Iona's abbey and established under the same roof with the original colony a chapter of Black Friars or Benedictine Monks. A year later a deed of confirmation was sent by Pope John to Celestinus, abbot of St. Columba, on Hy. The Celtic community gradually adopted Benedictine rule and was absorbed in the new monastic establishment. Thus the allengulfing power of Rome swallowed up the remnant of Columba's ancient church upon Iona. What was the fate of its dependencies in Wales and in the islands of the North, and how it is connected with the future growth of the English and Scottish church, it is not within the province of this rapid sketch to discuss. So far as Iona is concerned, the church of St. Columba from this date falls into line with the innumerable host of English and Scottish abbeys as a regular monastic institution.

In the same year with the founding of the Benedictine Abbey of Iona, the Lord of the Isles established on the island a convent for nuns of the order of St. Augustine, and Beatrice, his sister, became first abbess of this second institution, only a stone's throw from Columba's shrine. No vestige, of course, remains of the material church of St. Columba's day. We cannot be sure that it was built of enduring stuff. That there was a church building besides monastic edifices we know from the writings of St. Adamnan, a successor of St. Columba only seventy years later, which mention the monks going from one to the other, and describe the divine vision and death of St. Columba before the high altar.

Of the later edifice built in stone by Abbot Cellach, no trace has yet been discovered; even St. Oran's Chapel, long considered to be the sole remnant of St. Margaret's restorations, is now believed to be of later date.

The earliest remains traceable, then, belong to Lord Reginald's buildings, and these are very fragmentary. They consist of a fair portion of the convent chapel and a small bit of stonework in the transept of the abbey.

Both buildings are situated on the eastern slope of a low line of hills which afford almost no shelter from the bleak westerly and northerly winds.

To the east the site looks across the turbulent water of Iona Sound, dotted with black rocks and little islets around which the surf breaks in broad white fringes. Afar off one may descry the lofty dome of Ben More towering into the clouds from the isle of Mull, and in the opposite direction the "Coolin Hills of Skye" rise ethereal among the ever present clouds, which drift majestically by, now veiling, now revealing, their purple, craggy peaks. Aside from the sweeping grandeur of the inspiring view there is little of beauty in the actual site of St. Columba's abbey or Lord Reginald's convent. Between the two lies *Reilig Odhrain*, an almost level stretch of ground thickly covered with gravestones and monumental slabs. These represent almost every age of Pictish, Scottish, and English art-history, from the curiously wrought carvings of the Celtic slabs to the mail-clad warriors of the Middle Ages and even down to modern gravestones. Here rests the dust, so we are told, of forty-eight kings of Scotland, eight kings of Norway, four kings of Ireland, and one of France, besides countless numbers of chiefs and clansmen.

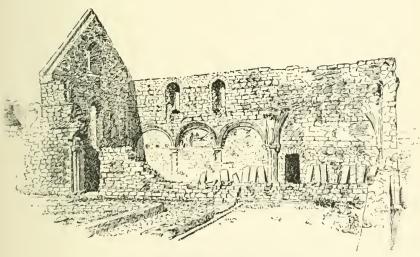
Along the way from this ancient place of burial to the abbey are a few remnants of the Celtic crosses for which the island was once so famous. One of these, called St. Martin's Cross, still intact with its intricate and characteristic ornament, stands solitary in front of the abbey, some sixty of its brothers having been thrown into the sea by the Reformers, while several hundred others have disappeared in unknown ways from the island since the palmy days of Celtic Christianity. Some thirty still exist on the mainland, having been carried from Iona to Argyleshire centuries ago.

As viewed from the tombs of the kings, the nunnery presents a pile of late Norman fragments, round arched and sturdy, though fallen greatly to decay, while the abbey, far

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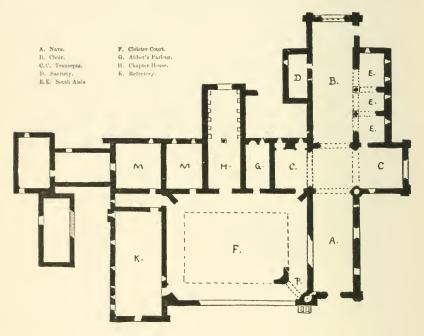
#### IONA

better preserved, raises its majestic tower of steep gables in the latest style of the Gothic. On approaching the abbey we find the outer walls and tower of the church, a structure of moderate size, in an excellent state of preservation. The edifice consisted, as the plan indicates, of a simple sanctuary to



IONA: THE CONVENT CHAPEL FROM S.E.

the east, a long choir with side aisle on the south and sacristy on the north, projecting transepts screened off from the choir, and a long nave of plain and simple design. To the north stretches a well-preserved quadrangle of monastic buildings, chapels, chapter house, and refectory, and beyond these a rambling range of outer structures representing the various offices of the monastery. The choir, from its ground plan, would not seem to present any new or peculiar features, but the moment one enters it by the narrow doorway in the late, ill-built screen, he sees that this is no usual form of arrangement. The main body of

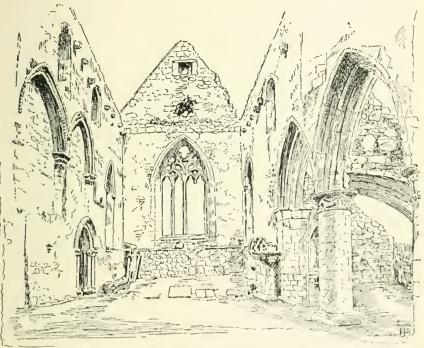


GROUND PLAN OF THE ABBEY OF IONA.

the choir extends somewhat beyond the side structure, and is lighted on three sides at the sanctuary end, as is common, its east window being filled with a late form of decorated tracery. But the side aisle to the south and the sacristy opposite present remarkable innovations, most interesting to study despite

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the fact that they are of very late construction. The former consists of three bays divided from the choir by two piers of circular section with banded capitals richly and most interestingly though crudely carved. The aisle is spanned by two



THE ABBEY CHOR, LOOKING EAST.

low flying buttresses heavily weighted at the top, springing from near the ground and abutting the choir wall just above the capitals of the piers. These low arches give the aisle an extremely depressed and confined appearance, so that it looks like a triforium gallery of some larger churches, but the mouldings of the under side of the low arches, combined with the carved capitals, give an effect of greater antiquity than the ruin can claim. The aisle is of course roofless and otherwise damaged in its outer walls, but it is still a very interesting development of aisle building, and raises the question whether or not the choir itself was originally intended to have a vault which these arches were meant to support.

The form of the other side aisle — for so it may be looked upon in plan— is even more unusual; it consists of but two bays and these opposite the easternmost bays of the other aisle, there being no bay adjoining the transept. The sacristy itself was a low apartment opening upon the choir by a small, rather richly decorated doorway. Above this apartment was a lofty gallery opening upon the choir by two large pointed arches divided by a tall column. This is described by archæologists as a "singing gallery," and is a feature found in a number of late churches in this very position— over the sacristy.

The general effect of the choir, then, is far from symmetrical, though exceedingly picturesque.

The transepts project well on either side and have no aisles; at the crossing are four large piers which support the central tower. The southern arm is lighted by a traceried pointed window of good size, and an arch opens into the choir aisle of the two screens which separate the transept from the choir and nave; that to the east is modern.

The northern arm has rather more architectural character. In its east wall are two deep chapels with a small deeply



SOUTH AISLE OF ABBEY CHORE, LOOKING WEST. SMALL DOORWAY TO CHOISTER ON THE RIGHT.

splayed window in each and a niche between them. These chapels are provided with engaged colonettes and mouldings. The wall at this point is extremely thick, and its construction, together with the lower courses of the tower pier adjoining, is quite different from that of the other portions of the church. It is quite transitional in character and doubtless dates from the first Benedictine structure of Lord Reginald. A diminutive door leads from the transept out to the cloister which is particularly interesting, preserving, as it does, the only existing cloister arch in any of these ruined abbeys. This is in the southwestern angle of the court, is of semicircular form and very plain. It is not difficult to restore in the mind's eye the full rectangle of arcades with their sloping roof of wood, and to imagine the solemn company of monks as they took their morning constitutional round and round to the droning hum of Ave Marias and Pater Nosters.

The eastern range remains entire in its ground story. There is adjoining the transept a small apartment with a fireplace, called, from this rare display of a medium of comfort, the abbot's parlour.

Next to this comes the chapter house, which consists of a sort of anteroom which constituted the original chapter house, and a longer room beyond, separated from the first by two arches supported by a column and provided on either side with a row of four niches which seem to have answered for stalls or seats for the clergy. This building retains its vaulting and is believed to have contained the scriptorium or the library in its upper story. How interesting to find even partially preserved the treasure house of that great collection of books which in its day had almost no rival in Europe! Adjoining this is a chamber corresponding to the abbot's parlour, but of no particular interest.

The northern range of the cloister is almost wholly occupied by a long building, originally two-storied and still preserving two rows of windows, which was doubtless the refectory.

It has been suggested that the lower floor consisted of storerooms, and that the refectory was above, where the windows are quite large and fine.

Opposite this building is the long plain wall of the nave. This is the least interesting part of the ruin. It is of simplest plan, aisleless, poorly built, and altogether of poor and late workmanship. To the left of the façade are two more interesting little structures, the first a diminutive chamber with a tiny lookout window, called the porter's lodge, and it may readily have answered such a purpose.

Next to this is a small chapel quite unattractive but for two much dilapidated sarcophagi of stone which the natives of the island love to dignify as the coffins of St. Columba and his faithful servant, Diarmaid. The coffins have certainly an appearance of great age, but the student is rather sceptical of their immediate connection with the great saint.

Their location alone would cast suspicion upon their authenticity. Far toward the north stretches a miscellaneous collection of buildings of different ages. That nearest the refectory is called the kitchen, the use of the others is not even hinted at.

Almost all of the work as it stands is of fifteenth-century and sixteenth-century style and construction, though this may have been carried out on plans of great antiquity. Most of this work was done at about the time that Iona Abbey became the seat of the See of the Isles and was elevated to the rank of a cathedral.

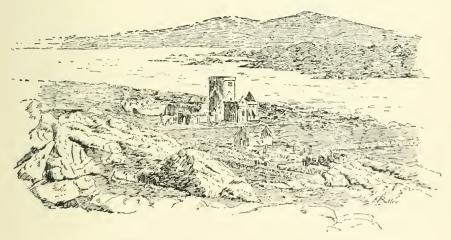
Iona escaped the greatest part of the Reformation troubles and fell to ruins by the unaided hands of time and weather. This would at once be imagined when we stand at a distance from the abbey on the rocky eminence to the south, for the old cathedral with its far extending buildings, its unbroken walls, its fine battlemented tower with its great square windows of plate tracery, appears almost intact but for its roofs. The tower just mentioned is one of unusual picturesqueness and grace, and the tracery of the belfry windows, patterned in various geometrical designs, is well worthy of notice.

It is easy to see that the abbey was spared the fury of the Reformers, and that there has been little temptation to turn it into a quarry, because its neighbours are so few and so far away.

We cannot leave Iona without special notice of its sculpture. This, though sparingly used, is extremely quaint, and in its crudeness and its use of animal forms and grotesqueness

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would suggest a Romanesque origin; but any such theory must be abandoned when we examine the structure of the architecture of which it is a part, which is undeniably of late, even very late, date. The subjects represent many scenes from Scripture story, and are treated in a light, gay manner which is quite amusing. Where foliage is employed it is also very much in



THE ABBEY AND ST. ORAN'S CHAPEL FROM THE HILLSIDE.

the style of Norman work, and it is difficult to assign a reason for the late appearance here of such old forms unless we conclude that the sculpture is purely a product of Iona's soil, where ancient Celtic carving and later Norman workmanship were to the insular artists their only inspiration.

Between the abbey and the landing lie two buildings of considerable interest. The first is St. Oran's Chapel, long believed, as we have said, to be the sole remnant of Queen Margaret's restoration upon the island. It is a simple gabled structure of oblong plan with a heavily moulded, round-arched doorway, which misled the older archæologists to connect its construction with that of the little chapel of St. Margaret at Edinburgh Castle; but a closer examination will show the impossibility of the comparison. Within the chapel are a number of decorated niche tombs of abbots and temporal lords, and its floor was originally covered with grave slabs. The chapel cannot be earlier than the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

Further along on our return to the harbour stand the scant ruins of the convent, where heaps of foundations show the lines and extent of the original structure. All that remains of the little abbey is in the late Norman or early transitional style, and shows what the form and style of the other abbey must have been in the founder's time. The only portion of interest is the little church building, of which a small part remains intact. It consisted of a nave with a single aisle to the north, separated from the main body of the church by a round-arched arcade resting upon columns of plain Norman design. The clerestory, which was superposed immediately above the main arcade, had windows of very small proportions over each of the columns and not over the arches as was the usual plan. To the east was a small square vaulted compartment which answered the purpose of a sanctuary. The remains of the vault are plainly visible, though it has long been destroyed.

Beside the sanctuary in a diminutive chapel is a curious effigy marking the tomb of the last abbess, Anna, who had given her substance to the tottering convent in vain.

This establishment was done away with at the time of the Reformation, and seems to have suffered some violence which for some unknown reason was spared the cathedral.

The day of pilgrimages to Iona has returned. During all the summer hundreds of interested tourists, and some less interested, flock from all lands to see the remnant of St. Columba's great abbey, and within a few years extensive celebrations of Columban anniversaries have been held upon the island, in which Catholics and Protestants took part, each on their appointed day. Again the uncovered host, the uplifted chalice, the solemn words of the mass, have blessed the bleak uncovered walls of the abbey; again the note of praise, the sound of anthems, has rung through its silent depths. So long as Christianity endures, the name of St. Columba will be revered; and so long as the name of Columba lives, Iona shall not be again forgotten.

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# CHAPTER III

## DUNFERMLINE

PERHAPS no town in all Scotland, excepting only Edinburgh, figured so prominently in the early portions of Scottish national history as Dunfermline; surely not one ever so vied with the capital in royal favour as did this nearest of neighbours, only a few miles distant north of the Frith of Forth. It was Malcolm Canmore who, early in the eleventh century, first brought this burgh into fame by building his castle upon its precipitous hillside and designating it as the future place of royal sepulture instead of the long-famous isle of Iona. Accordingly almost all of the kings of Scotland, from Malcolm to the Bruce, were buried here, besides a host of princes and persons of rank and fame.

To the castle which Malcolm had just built he invited the fugitive royal family of England, driven from the throne by the Conqueror, and here he soon espoused one of those fugitives, the gentle Princess Margaret.

The advent of the English royal family to the Scottish capital was the beginning of a new order of things in manners and

### DUNFERMLINE

mode of life, not only at court, but by degrees throughout the Kingdom. Under the influence of the newly made queen, we learn from her chaplain and biographer, Turgot, the bold Malcolm soon founded a church which was to be the *locum sepulturæ regium*.

Like most churches of its day, this was the central feature of a monastery, and it is interesting to notice that, even at this date, the inmates were not to be imported from across the border whence the queen had so recently been driven; that, though she had been brought up under the strongest influences of the Roman Church, the monks were not chosen from any of the English monasteries, which were all under papal sway, but from Iona, the centre of Scottish Christianity, a centre quite independent of Rome. It remained for Margaret's son David to import English canons to Dunfermline as to almost all of the Scottish abbeys. Thirteen Culdees were accordingly established upon the new foundation, and the church edifice and monastic buildings were at once begun. In 1075 a part of the church seems to have been completed, for in that year it was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and Queen Margaret's wish was accomplished.

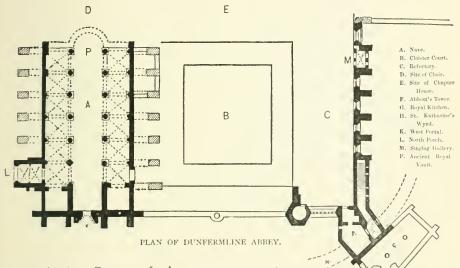
The site which Malcolm and Margaret chose for their monastery was one of the most imposing in Scotland, on the summit of a steep hill sloping toward the south, with a superb panorama of the lowlands stretching away to the Frith of Forth and far beyond toward the hills of Lothian. To those approaching from the south the towers of the abbey were long a landmark rising like a crown above their lofty base. For eighteen years the future of the abbey looked very bright, but with the death of Malcolm in 1093 came troublous times for Scotland, and work upon the church proceeded very slowly. The unfortunate king was not even buried in the new tomb which he had constructed, but far away in the monastery of Tynemouth. But in the same year Queen Margaret, dying of a broken heart at the loss of her husband and son, was the first of the royal family to be interred in the new church. It is recorded that the edifice was completed in 1115 by Alexander I., second son of Malcolm.

This prince, in any event, brought the remains of his father from Tynemouth and deposited them, with great ceremony, beside those of his mother in the vault in front of the high altar of Dunfermline. Later the abbey was greatly enriched by David I. and enlarged in 1124 for the reception of thirteen Benedictine monks from Canterbury; in 1128 Gaufrid of Canterbury was consecrated first abbot.

It is very difficult to determine which portions of the present structure are part of Malcolm's original church begun in 1075 and finished by Alexander, his son, in 1115, and which belong to the additions and improvements of David's time. Two theories have been advanced which seem almost equally tenable. The greater number of Scottish antiquarians seem

### DUNFERMLINE

to believe, and all the guide-books state, that the splendid Norman nave, with its two rows of magnificent piers and its heavy walls, is the original building of Malcolm and Margaret; that the present nave constituted the entire church of that period, a simple basilical church with possibly a curved apse



(see plan). Some of the more recent critics, on the other hand, hold that the

present nave is too good for Malcolm's time; that no portion of his church remains, it having been torn down to make room for the thirteenth-century choir; that the dignified piers and arches of the nave are the result of David's enrichments.

Both opinions are well founded; for, from the first point of view, the original royal vault which is recorded to have been

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in front of the high altar, or below it, as would have been most natural, is between the casternmost piers of the nave (see plan). The church begun with considerable splendour by Malcolm was not finished at his death, but was completed in less prosperous times by his sons, and this nave, with its richly adorned main arcade and outer walls, has a triforium and clerestory of painful plainness and crudeness. On the other side, you may say that it would have been an unheard-of innovation in ecclesiastical architecture to begin building a church with the nave, or to turn the original sanctuary into the nave.

When one comes to the question of style, he is as much in the dark as ever; for it is almost impossible to judge of period by style in Scotland. The exterior of this nave has been altered almost beyond recognition, but within we have one of the finest specimens of a Norman interior in Great Britain. Two rows of lofty cylindrical piers carry arches composed of rich Norman mouldings; not only is this arcade one of unusually fine and imposing proportions, but some of the piers are ornamented with patterns in incised lines, and the archivolts are enriched with a simple but elegant design. The supports are in no sense columns; they are built up of many courses of stone and their base is the simplest of mouldings curved round the bottom above a square plinth, and what might be called the capital is a simple cushion with eight

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### DUNFERMLINE

flutings under an octagonal abacus. The outer wall has its responds of plain engaged columns of severest Norman design;



DUNFERMLINE: INTERIOR OF NAVE, LOOKING EAST.

small, round-headed windows and a wall arcade of narrow arches, ornamented with the zigzag pattern and resting upon

plain colonettes. The vaults are probably a little later but still Romanesque. Above the main arcade is the barest row of triforium arches, of sufficient height not to impair the dignity of the lower story, but entirely unadorned, and a clerestory wall equally plain, pierced with small windows. The ceiling is of course of wood, several having succeeded each other in the abbey's history, owing to the perishableness of the material, but a beautiful mediæval structure of oak was in place until the early part of this century, when Sir Walter Scott made a visit to Dunfermline. So charmed was he with its beauty that it soon went to adorn the ceilings and walls of Abbotsford. It is impossible to understand how the antiquarian poet and romancer, who did more than any one has ever done to preserve to us the finest specimens of Scottish mediæval art, could have allowed himself to be so tempted. The construction which superseded the ancient roof is anything but beautiful or appr criste.

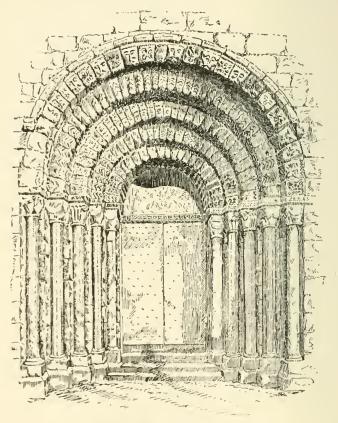
The ground story, as can be seen from the drawing, at once suggests Durham Cathedral, and some authorities lose no time in placing it after that edifice. Durham was not begun until 1093 and was not roofed in until about 1130; but there is a striking resemblance between the two interiors, in the lofty proportions of the ground-story arcade, and in the incised decoration of the cylindrical piers and the octagonal fluted capitals. The cylindrical pier was used very extensively

### DUNFERMLINE

in the early Norman churches of the North, much more than in the South. We find it at Carlisle as well as at Durham, at Kelso, at Lindisfarne and even at St. Magnus in the Orkneys; but the use of the incised pattern was not so common, though we find it at Lindisfarne, just off the coast of Berwick. Many theories have been advanced to explain its origin. The most probable is that it was a design borrowed from the earlier churches which the Norman builders replaced.

It does not seem absolutely necessary, then, to place Dunfermline after Durham, but quite possible to make the two about contemporaneous, both taking suggestions from the same source, and to give Dunfermline the advantage of a few years' start. Durham is, of course, a far more highly articulated structure, and much richer in design, taken as a whole, but there is sufficient resemblance between them to warrant our belief that both are derived from the same parent stock. I do not wish to take one whit of his fame as a church builder from the saintly King David, but it seems to me that the Romanesque of his day was somewhat different from this, -lighter and more ornate. At Kelso, which is one of the few extant examples of his many buildings, we have circular piers, but with columns engaged on three faces, and cushion caps with many flutings. The wall arcades, too, there are interlaced and far more ornate than those at Dunfermline. To David's time it is easy to assign the aisle vaults and the west front

with its flanking towers, so far as it preserves its Norman character. The main western doorway is of great interest, a



DUNFERMLINE: THE WEST FORTAL.

spacious portal of five recessed arches, preserved entire. The elaborate ornament of the arches has for the most part weathered away, though it is possible to see in the voussoirs of the outer arch a few of the twelve faces which alternate with carved floral designs and have been called the twelve apostles, though they are simply grotesques. The shafts of the colonettes have been restored with their bases, but the capitals are quite intact and show considerable variety of design. The whole portal is fine in proportion and rich in execution. The nave had two other portals, not in the façade, but opening north and south from the first bay east of the towers. That to the north opened toward the town and was later provided with an elaborate porch. The other opened upon the cloister. The hideous buttresses which mar the exterior of the nave were built between 1585 and 1675.

Early in the thirteenth century a period of great strength began for the abbey; a new and spacious choir was built in 1231, application for funds was made to Pope Gregory IX., and the number of canons was increased from thirty to fifty.

The king, Alexander II., called the "Peaceful," and his queen, Johanna, both showered favours and gifts upon the "house," although they had chosen Melrose as their last resting-place.

The monastic buildings were greatly extended, until under Alexander III, the institution became one of the largest and most powerful in the North.

It was under this monarch that the relics of St. Margaret were translated to the new shrine while elaborate preparations were made for a new place of royal sepulture. Upon the death of Alexander in 1286, and that of his only heir, the "Maid of Norway," four years later, Scotland was plunged into the well-known bloody strife between the descendants of David I., through the Earl of Huntington, that made the country an easy prey to the ambitious schemes of the English sovereign. Dunfermline was among the first of the religious houses north of the Forth to suffer the violence of the invading hosts.

In 1303 the domestic portion of the monastery suffered great damage during the invasion of Edward I., but was quickly restored under King Robert Bruce. After this the abbey enjoyed comparative tranquillity until its destruction in 1560. Of the most important structure of this period — the portions of the church east of the nave — almost no vestige remains. A faint memory of its form is preserved in some poor seventeenth-century sketches and of its details in the merest fragments of the eastern end still *in situ*. From these we infer that there must have been a broad transept with a tower above the crossing, a spacious choir of six bays, and joined to the east end of this a Lady Chapel. The northern choir aisle seems to have been flanked by a row of chapels or perhaps a secondary aisle, giving great width to this part of the church.

This must have been a very imposing structure, built as it was during the best period of the Early English style in the

### DUNFERMLINE

North, with its lofty tower pierced by two stories of tall pointed windows, its buttresses and pinnacles, and far more beautiful from the exterior than the mother church. Some idea of the richness of its decorations may be had from the remnant of the Lady Chapel, where the bases of colonettes and the mouldings display the use of the "nail-head" and other designs of Early English ornament. It was to this Lady Chapel (of which only the base mouldings and the base of the arcade are extant) that the bodies of the sainted Queen Margaret and her spouse were brought in 1250.

The shrine of St. Margaret had grown steadily in popular esteem as the resort of pilgrims ever since her interment and later canonization. As the number of miracles worked by the royal relics increased and as the fame of the shrine spread in both kingdoms, the number of pilgrims became each year larger and more important, until an almost continuous line of devotees could be seen upon the road between the "Queen's Ferry" and the abbey, while pilgrims' crosses marked the roads that led to the shrine for miles around. The number of gifts grew proportionally with that of the pilgrims, so that it was found necessary for convenience, and possible from a financial standpoint, to erect a more commodious and richer shrine. The Lady Chapel was accordingly built, and a superb relic tomb erected within it. A high feast marked the translation of the sacred bones from their old resting-place, and a curious tradition accounts for the removal of the king's bones as well as those of his sainted spouse.

With all the pomp and pageantry of a most holy function, the relics of the saint were raised from their resting-place; and, with a cortège of kings, princes, high ecclesiastical dignitaries, and nobles of every degree, the solemn procession toward their new abode began.

Between the easternmost piers of the old church, rich with their incised ornament and brilliant with colour, was the tomb of Malcolm Canmore. As the gorgeous coffin of the saintqueen passed between these columns and reached the sarcophagus of her husband, it became so heavy that those who bore it were compelled to lay it down, nor could they by any force raise or move it an inch further. The portent and the delay caused great consternation among those in the pompous train, until it was proposed that the coffin of the king be moved too, when both at once became so light as almost to have moved of their own accord to their final resting-place. The presence of uncanonized bones by the side of the sainted ones is thus counted no profanation, and the "unbelieving husband is saved by the believing wife." The shattered slab of imported gray marble filled with fossils, still to be seen on the site of the Lady Chapel, is a part of the original shrine, and still covers the place where so long reposed the remains of the royal saint and her kingly husband. The six holes regularly disposed along

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## DUNFERMLINE

the sides of the slab doubtless were sockets to receive the bottoms of marble or metal colonettes which supported the canopy of the shrine, which was, in all probability, not unlike that of Edward the Confessor, — an almost contemporaneous structure in Westminster Abbey, — except that the coffin was not elevated.

In front of the altar of the new choir a new royal vault was made for future burials, the older one having become crowded; and, the most important relics having been removed from here to the Lady Chapel, the less sacred bones were allowed to rest in their original position. A large share of its sanctity thus passed from the old church to the new, though mass was constantly said and lights perennially burned above the old *locum sepulturæ regium* until Reformation times.

When the king died he was unquestionably laid in the new vault, although Scott says,

" Long since, beneath Dunfermline's nave, King Alexander fills his grave,"

referring to the "third monarch of that warlike name," in his encounter with the goblin knight.

Under Alexander III. (d. 1286) the abbey reached the zenith of its greatness, from which it descended but little until after the reign of the Bruce. During this time the church became the site of the most magnificent monuments in Scotland. The tombs of all the great kings were here, even of

Bruce himself. The shrine of St. Margaret was more and more enriched, nobles vied with each other in erecting for themselves tombs of the greatest splendour; in short, Dunfermline became the Westminster Abbey of Scotland. Then came the Reformation, and though this church seems to have survived the wholesale destruction of ecclesiastical buildings under Henry VIII., it was completely wrecked by the Covenanters, who, in 1560, pulled down the choir, and in iconoclastic fury broke the tombs and smashed the effigies. Little by little the burghers allowed the ruined building to fall until the very site of Bruce's splendid shrine was lost to memory. Little by little they preved upon the ruin of their greatest national monument for building materials, until, in 1818, only a portion of the north wall remained standing. In this year the site was cleared, and the foundation of a new house of worship, upon substantially the lines of the old choir and transept, was laid by the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, the famous earl who brought the Parthenon sculptures to London, saving them, perhaps, from complete destruction, perhaps from one of the continental mušeums.

The building of the "New Abbey Church" makes one of the saddest chapters in the history of the abbey. It was completed in 1821, its period of building being the poorest in the architectural history of Great Britain, when the Gothic had not been studied and the Victorian Gothic not developed. It is

#### DUNFERMLINE

a disheartening piece of design, full of false proportions, its mouldings within and without being absolutely flat and often uncarved. It is altogether a fitting monument to those who

pulled down its predecessor and destroyed the monuments of an age whose glories they themselves could not attain.

One fortunate circumstance was the outcome of this rebuilding, the discovery, among the old débris, of the body of King Robert the Bruce, wrapt in a leaden shroud lined with fragments of cloth of gold. A careful examination of the skeleton revealed that the bones of the breast had been cut through for the removal of the heart, which was done to the body of Bruce for his friend, the loyal Sir James Douglas, to whom Bruce had given the commission to bear his heart to the Holy Land.



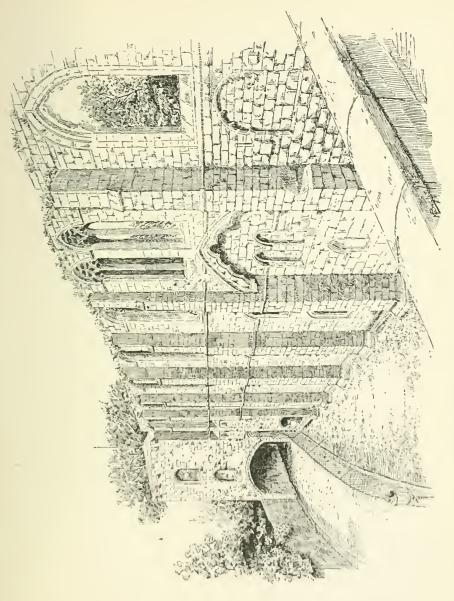
BRUCE MEMORIAL BRASS.

His remains, having been thus identified beyond a doubt, were given the place of honour in the new building, and the tower thereof heralds the fact in early nineteenth-century fash-

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ion, its balustrade being wrought of colossal letters which spell the words "King Robert the Bruce." A rather more fitting monument has marked the spot where Bruce lies buried, since 1889—a simple brass designed in mediæval style inlaid upon a slab of Egyptian porphyry. The king is represented in the characteristic attitude of mediæval brasses, crowned and in chain armour. At his left side are the famous twohanded sword and a shield bearing the rampant lion of Scotland. His feet rest upon a lion couchant, and other heraldic emblems make up the design of the brass.

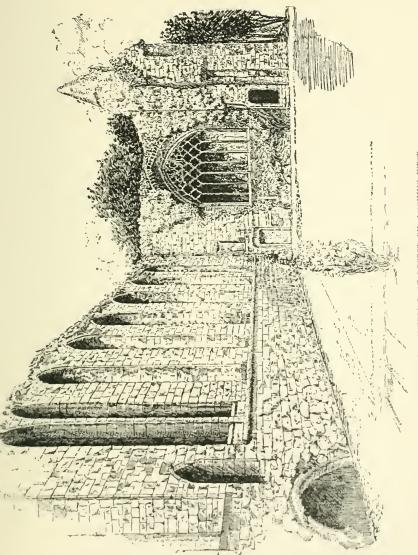
Of the monastic buildings there remains an interesting portion which belongs to the thirteenth-century period: it is not possible to say definitely whether it belongs to the early part of the century or to the reconstruction under Bruce, but the evidence would lead to the opinion that the major part is of the earlier date, with details executed early in the fourteenth century. These remains are situated directly across the ancient cloister court to the south of the nave, and represent a portion of the refectory with the abbot's tower, as it is called, which was built upon an arched passage above the ancient road leading up to the abbey, and was connected with the kitchens of the Royal Palace. This portion of the abbey stood on the very edge of the precipitous hillside up which the road wound in a gradual but steep incline. The lower side of the "fratry," or refectory, has two stories below the level of the cloister.



DUNFERMLINE: REFECTORY AND ABBOT'S TOWER FROM THE PARAPET.

In the drawing made from the parapet over the roadway one may see the three stories of the refectory, with the abbot's tower above the road beyond. The lower story is vaulted and was probably the cellar of the abbey; the next is also covered with vaults and may have been the kitchen; small windows may be seen opening out from these levels. Above all was the refectory, with its long row of tall pointed windows and its great traceried window toward the west. Near the opposite end of the wall, built out between the buttresses and suspended upon arches, is a small vaulted compartment with two narrow openings outward and two inward upon the hall; this is called the "music gallery," but may have been the place from which one of the brethren read the Scriptures while the others were at meat. At the western end of the wall the similar space between the buttresses was utilized for a staircase from below, but not extending above the refectory windows. In the western wall are two doors, one leading into a small octagonal tower which once had a staircase, the other opening upon the abbot's tower and communicating with the royal kitchen, to the bounty of which the monks had certain stipulated rights.

Throughout the early history of the abbey these rights were strictly observed; but as the abbey grew and the number of monks and penitents increased, this privilege became a great annoyance to the royal purveyor and a constant drain



DUNFERMLINE: INTERIOR OF REFECTORY, LOOKING WEST.

upon the royal purse, until Alexander II. cut off this timehonoured source of supply and granted to the monastery the lands of Dollar as a substitute.

Of the refectory all the lower portions are plainly of early thirteenth-century construction, and the southern wall, from the remnants of tracery which it preserves, with the exception of that in the "music gallery," which is evidently of later date, would seem to belong to the same period. The western wall, with its broad, low-arched window and beautiful tracery, is doubtless a part of Bruce's restoration; for, though far from being perpendicular, it is neither flowing nor plainly geometrical. The abbot's tower is of older construction. Its position making uncommon solidity a necessity, it has outlasted many buildings of its age.

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# CHAPTER IV

#### HOLYROOD

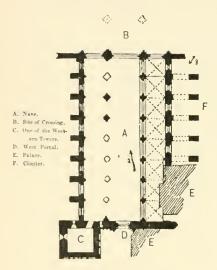


ARCADE OF HOLYROOD.

PERHAPS the most familiar of the ancient monastic edifices of Scotland, next to Melrose Abbey, is Holyrood Chapel, the ruined remnant of the once powerful abbey of Holyrood. It is now in the city of Edinburgh, though at the time of its

founding it was beyond the farthest outskirts. It stands well at the southeast of the city, at the end of the Canongate, completely hidden, as you approach it, by the buildings of the Royal Palace, which through centuries was permitted to encroach upon its ancient neighbour until the more modern walls have crowded the black and crumbling ones sadly into the background.

Of the extensive mediæval monastery with its great church, its spacious cloisters, and its far-stretching cluster of ecclesiastical buildings, nothing is left but a portion of the church edifice, including the west front, the high, enclosing walls of the nave, a portion of the main arcade, and fragments of single



PLAN OF HOLYROOD ABBEY.

piers; but it is not difficult to trace the main outlines of the church in the smooth green that surrounds the ruin — these show the plan to have included broad transepts and a choir of considerable length. The steps leading up to the high altar at the line of the sanctuary are still visible in two little terraces.

An imaginary reconstruction of the whole church upon the lines thus furnished, in addition to the

preserved nave of seven bays, would give a building of imposing dimensions, comparing favourably in size with some of the larger English abbeys. When the choir and transepts were demolished (1596), the nave was provided with an eastern wall; the high east window in this wall, intact even to its tracery, fills the entire expanse between the eastern piers and below the lofty transverse arch, which was originally the westernmost arch of the crossing and one of the main arches of the great central tower; beneath this the new high altar was placed. This wall and its window are hung with a rich drapery of ivy HOLYROOD

vine and an exquisite carpet of greensward is spread before the site of the new altar.

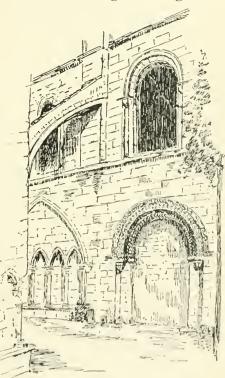
The south aisle is the best preserved portion of the ruin; all of its vaults are still in position, with the piers and arches of the main arcade and the triforium gallery.

Three distinct styles are to be found among the fragments

of broken wall and pier: the Norman, the early pointed, and the seventeenth-century Gothic of some of the restorations.

The Norman work, while not the most conspicuous, constitutes a fair portion of the ruin. It comprises a part of the south wall, where are preserved the windows <sup>1</sup> of the first two bays west of the crossing, and a doorway, now walled up, that led from the nave into the cloister. It can be seen only from the exterior.

The next oldest portion is found in the opposite



HOLYROOD: NORMAN PART OF NAVE, Point 3 on Plan.

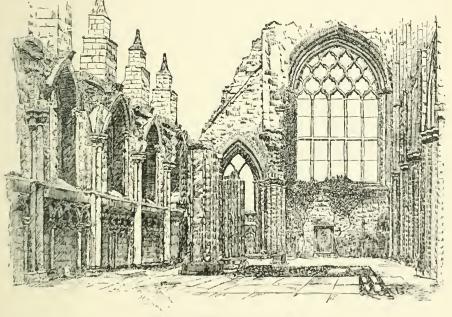
<sup>1</sup> These are apparently late reproductions of preëxisting Norman windows.

wall, where an arcade of rich interlaced round arches illustrates the first steps toward the transition. Two periods of Romanesque style are thus represented in these few fragments, quite distinct and well defined though incorporated in the same walls.

The doorway just alluded to is low, but provided with a full set of rich, early Norman mouldings originally carried by colonettes, the cushion caps of which still remain. The proportions of this portal and the early type of ornament would place it among the specimens of earlier Norman work, while the fragment of arcade on the opposite side of the nave would seem to belong to a considerably later date. It is not unusual to find earlier and later developments of the same style in the several parts of a building; but it is impossible to account for this change of style manifested in the same portion of an edifice, for the differences are not between the upper and lower parts of the structure nor yet between the eastern and western, but hopelessly mixed together as if the building of the church had been arrested by some catastrophe. The two periods which figure here are such as might easily represent the work of the beginning and end of the reign of David I. It has been suggested that the fragments of early Norman at the east end of the nave may indicate that the choir and transepts were in that style. The remainder of the ruin is all in the early pointed style; and the portions destroyed

#### HOLYROOD

seem also to have been of the same character, so that, in all probability, we have most of the relics of the original structure that survived the first rebuilding. This Gothic structure was built upon the lines of the older Norman



INTERIOR OF NAVE, LOOKING FAST. Point 2 on Plan.

church, at least so far as the nave is concerned; for here we have early work on both sides. The seven bays are of the most dignified design, showing a highly articulated structure, richly though not profusely decorated. The wall arcades of this period are single-arched and acutely pointed; their mouldings and capitals are quite different in character from those of the earlier arcade. They are rich and deeply cut, the capitals being of flowing foliate design. The piers consist of a number of slender shafts engaged with a heavy pier. The inside shafts are carried through a small capital, little more than a moulding, to the springing of the main vault ribs. At the triforium a moulding breaks round them. The use of these shafts is quite in the manner of those in some of the best French Gothic models.

The undoubted use of vaults of stone over the central alley of the nave adds greatly to the architectural interest of this church. This involved a much higher order of constructive principles than was exercised in the building of the majority of these abbeys, and it seems to have been carried out with the greatest success. Besides the cluster of vaulting shafts which we have seen carried up from the pavement to support the downward pressures of the vault ribs there was also an elaborate system, as we shall see, of exterior buttresses to meet the outward thrust of the vaults, and this of necessity influenced the whole character of the building.

The arches of the main arcade are, of course pointed, and provided with pure Gothic mouldings. Above the moulding which crowns the main story, runs the fine arcade of pointed arches which constituted the triforium, and above this, at the extreme ends, we can still see the engaged colonettes of the

#### HOLYROOD

clerestory, which must have been high enough to have filled the nave with a flood of light. Here, then, we have a fully articulated Gothic structure, with the soaring height and graceful proportions that belong to the Gothic.

What the form of the high vaults was we can only judge from a few bits of vault rib still clinging to the clerestory wall and from that of the vaults of the side aisles.

The side-aisle vaults, like the arches, are much higher than usual, higher even in proportion than many of the Gothic vaults in England. The plan of the vaults is a perfectly simple, square, cross-form; the plan upon which all French Gothic low vaults were built. The ribs which support them rest upon engaged columns which are, in every case, brought to the ground by a slender shaft. The ribs themselves are delicately moulded and perfectly fitted. The plan of the high vaults, as suggested by the arrangement of piers, the use of shafts above the arches, between the piers, and the fragments of wall ribs preserved at their springing, would seem to have been of the six-part order. In fact, these vaults are not unlike some of the best specimens of Early English type, like those of the cathedral of Salisbury.

Across the nave there remain standing only the aisle wall and two shattered piers of clustered shafts. The wall preserves the spacious pointed openings, some fine engaged shafts, terminating in delicate capitals of Early English work, and the exquisite Norman arcade of interlacing round arches with their slender colonettes. Above the wall tower square buttresses with simple pinnacles. Just above the line of the wall, on the inner face of each buttress, can be seen the set-off from which sprang a flying buttress which spanned the aisle roof to meet the



HOLYROOD: WEST FRONT, FROM N.W.

thrust of the high vaults. The buttresses from which these halfarches sprang are very deep, so that the whole system of vault support from shaft and rib to buttress is admirably illustrated.

The west front, flanked by two massive towers, underwent extensive restoration in the time of Charles I., but there

#### HOLYROOD

are still to be found a few bits of Early English work in the varied and delicate carving of the portal and the sculptured arcade with deeply carved heads in its spandrels. This main portal is in many respects very striking - there are few like it anywhere in the North. It is sharply pointed and deeply recessed, like French examples of the end of the twelfth century, and bears a striking resemblance to the French type in its form and proportions. The building up of the tympanum with a miniature arcade is quite in the manner of the Ile-de-France, the lintel carved with a frieze of angel heads suggests either French or Italian art, but the sculpture of the arch mouldings, which includes twisted patterns and semi-geometrical designs, is entirely insular and indeed quite Scottish. Above the portal the façade is treated in later styles which belong chiefly to Charles I.'s renovation. The remaining tower is pierced with pointed double windows of Early English design.

On the exterior from the north we notice that the buttresses are of later style than the wall within; that the outer face of each is provided with a canopied niche, from which the statue has, of course, disappeared.

Of the buildings which clustered about the cloister court on the south nothing whatever remains. The buttresses which extend out from the northern wall are on the south set far out from the wall, with which they are connected by low, broad semi-arches (flying buttresses) which span one side of the cloister walk. The outward thrusts of the high vaults are thus, on the north, carried to the earth by two sets of flying arches meeting at a buttress built in the aisle wall in a manner unique and in this particular usage very effective.

The ruin as a whole is wonderfully imposing after we have passed through the cold flat arcades of the palace court and come at one step face to face with the rich deep shadows of the Middle Ages.

The fire by which the abbey finally perished imparted a beautifully dark tone to the pile, a hue of sombre black, with which the bright green tints of the ivy clinging to the interior walls makes a striking combination.

Holyrood was one of the first abbeys established by David I. after his accession. A legend with variations as to details tells that a dense forest covered the spot where the abbey now stands, and that fine sport with bow and spear was to be had in the depths of its glades. The young king came often to this wood for the pleasures of the chase, and one day had started in pursuit of a royal stag, which, instead of darting off with hounds in full cry behind him, turned and dashed furiously toward the kingly huntsman, with a flaming cross blazing between his antlers. In response to a half-breathed call for divine aid, the cross miraculously passed into the king's hand, and the stag fled. The king in thankfulness vowed a great church to be erected upon the site already consecrated by the divine vision.

In 1128 David granted a charter, and with munificent gifts at the hands of its founder the promised abbey materialized and grew rapidly; a broad clearing was made in the royal forest, and well-tilled fields soon spread out toward the hills to the east. The church and monastic buildings were begun, of course, in Norman style, and some fragments of the former still remain *in situ*, as we have seen, representing the primitive structure in somewhat crude style, with alterations carried out in a later period of David's reign and in better style.

On account of its suburban situation and the wealth of its endowments, the abbey, from the first, was blessed with unusual prosperity. Its inmates, who were of the order of St. Augustine, built a magnificent church and gathered about their abbey a considerable town, which stretched away toward the city, from which it was long separated by a tract of open country. The holdings of the abbey, a broad expanse of meadow land and forest reaching as far as the top of Arthur's Seat, was called the abbey sanctuary, and, like the cities of refuge in Scripture, offered protection to fugitives from vengeance and from debt.

The forests, well stocked with all kinds of game, offered excellent opportunities for the chase and became a favourite resort of the royal founder. This explains the early appear-

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ance of royal apartments in the abbey, which grew into the palace of Holyrood and finally became the state palace of the Kingdom.

The original church, the Norman structure, was replaced in the thirteenth century by one in pointed style, of which the ruin, as we have it, is largely a part. We do not know why the great church in the Romanesque style was made to give place to a new one. It may have been in consequence of one of the many fires that the abbey suffered, or possibly only the result of the great revival in architecture that everywhere followed the introduction of the pointed arch, when many fine buildings in the round-arch style were deliberately taken down.

It is not possible to say just when this change took place, but comparing the forms and treatment of the details with buildings whose date is approximately known, we should place it at the end of William's reign, during which Arbroath was entirely built, and before the time of Alexander III., under whom a very rich treatment of Early English arose, that is, between 1210 and 1240. This edifice, one of the greatest in the North, was burned during the war with England under Richard II. in 1385. The abbey was restored after this disaster and used by the canons for over an hundred years. Many improvements were made in the structure and adornment of the abbey, particularly under the rule of

#### HOLYROOD

Abbot Crawford, a wealthy ecclesiastic, who is said to have made handsome presents to the abbey. To the date of his administration (1460–83) many of the later enrichments of the architecture seem to correspond. The buttresses of the northern side were rebuilt and enriched with canopies. The doorway in the north side was cut through, or perhaps only entirely remodelled, for its ogee moulding and rich canopies are of fifteenth-century work.

During this period Holyrood became a favourite resort of the royal house of Stuart, and the royal apartments were greatly enlarged and beautified until they rivalled the royal palace at Linlithgow. Robert III. and James I. made the abbey their chief residence, and James II. was born within its walls. Here was celebrated the marriage of this prince to Mary of Guilders, and in the vault below the choir of the abbey he was buried in 1460, after which date the royal burials at Dunfermline ceased and the Stuarts made Holyrood the third *locum sepulturæ regium* in Scotland.

To Holyrood came the Princess Margaret, daughter of Christian I. of Denmark, to be the bride of James III.; and with the greatest pomp the abbey had ever seen that famous daughter of the Tudor dynasty, Margaret, sister of Henry VIII., came to wed King James IV. This monarch found the royal apartments of the abbey too small for the functions of state, and founded in 1501 the palace of Holyrood, which, however, was not built until after Flodden by James V. The abbey became now the centre of Scottish court life, and many were the nights of revelry that rung through the King's apartments and were reëchoed through the lonely aisles of the darkened church.

"Old Holy-Rood rung merrily, That night with wassail, mirth, and glee; King James within her princely bower Feasted the Chiefs of Scotland's power."

And what scenes of despair must the abbey have witnessed after that dread day on Flodden Field!

"Snowdon's Knight," familiarly called The Gudeman of Ballinbreich by his loving subjects, built the palace which his father had founded and was married in the abbey to Mary of Lorraine, daughter of the Duke of Guise. The royal residence was now permanently removed from Linlithgow, and the line

"At Holy-Rood a Knight he slew"

is eloquent of the turbulent character of the Scottish court of the period.

In 1542 James V. was buried beneath Holyrood's aisle, and little Queen Mary began her checkered career. Later, Mary of Guise was buried here.

In 1544 the Earl of Hertford laid violent hands upon the abbey, but it does not seem to have been destroyed until three years later, when Somerset drove the monks from their

#### HOLYROOD

home and stripped the lead from the abbey's roof. Twenty years later the church had fallen greatly to decay, so that the commendator of Holyrood was permitted to tear down the transepts and choir and to sell the material to provide funds for the refitting of the nave as the parish church of Canongate. At this time the royal vault was removed from the choir to its present site in the southeast corner of the nave. But before this a most famous marriage had been celebrated at the abbey, that of the beautiful but unfortunate Mary to Lord Darnley. A little later Rizzio was laid in the passage just outside the abbey, and soon after the troubles of Mary's reign began, which resulted in another sack for the ill-fated abbey.

Once more the abbey rose phœnix-like from the flames, when its nave was restored and embellished for the coronation of Charles I. as king of Scotland. It was now consecrated to the service of the Protestant faith, but only to be finally demolished toward the end of the seventeenth century, when the royal vaults were desecrated and their contents scattered over the pavements (1768).

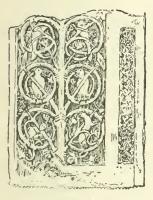
A strange fatality seems to have overhung the history of the abbey and the fortunes of those connected with it. Here lies James II., killed by the bursting of a gun at Roxburgh. James III. was married here and afterwards killed in battle at Sauchieburn. James IV., the hapless victim of Flodden, lived within the abbey walls, while James V. moved the court hither, lost the battle of Solway Moss in 1542, died the same year, and was buried within the abbey, leaving the infant Mary Queen of Scots to play out another act in the abbey's history. James VI. seems to have avoided the fateful home of his ancestors, leaving King Charles the "Martyr" to close the dramatic career of this old abbey, whose life had been so closely interwoven with that of Scotland's longest and most luckless line of kings.



HOLYROOD: SCULPTURE OVER MAIN PORTAL.

## CHAPTER V

### JEDBURGH



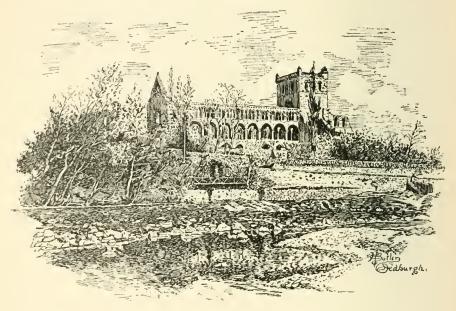
FRAGMENT OF ROMANESQUE ALTAR-PIECE.

THERE is probably no other country district, equally small in area, that can boast a group of ruins, at once so great and interesting, as those situated in the north of Roxburghshire, along the banks of the Tweed and its little tributary the Jed. Here were founded almost contemporaneously, in the first half of the twelfth century, four great abbeys, which were destroyed at the same time, by

the same ruthless hands, four centuries later, and which now stand in ruin equally desolate and equally interesting.

The oldest of these is the abbey of Jedburgh, already mentioned in connection with St. David's early church building.

It is not probable that the abbey was the earliest ecclesiastical establishment in this place, for the town of Jedworth or Jedburgh was already ancient, having been planted by Bishop Egred of Lindisfarne early in the ninth century, and its castle is mentioned by the earliest Scottish chroniclers. We cannot believe that this ancient saint would have founded a town without a church, but, be this as it may, the original establishment soon lost its independent existence and was engrossed in that of



THE ABBEY FROM THE RIVER.

the abbey, if, indeed, the early foundation was not taken as a nucleus for the later and greater one.

The ruin is most imposing — a broken and rugged mass of walls and piers surmounted by a massive tower. The abbey stands well, as the drawing shows, on an eminence overlooking the valley of the Jed. It is this that gives the ruin half its grandeur.

#### JEDBURGH

One of the oldest portions of the ruin is the lower story of the façade, which the visitor naturally encounters first. This portion is a fine example of Norman strength in the period of its richest decoration. The round recessed arches are profusely ornamented with geometrical designs and are supported upon slender colonettes.

The stories of the façade represent three widely separate periods of style, from the Norman of the portal, through the early pointed, to the gable pierced by a rose window with delicate flowing

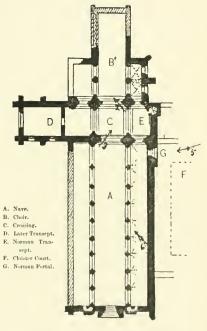
The long nave of nine bays is unroofed, and the north aisle

wall has been carried away for building-stone, but it is otherwise in a comparatively good state of preservation.

The central tower, thirty feet square, retaining in ruins almost its entire height, was partly rebuilt in the thirteenth century. Only two of the massive Norman piers remain.

The choir and parts of the transepts are of Norman design. The northern arm of the transept has been much restored in

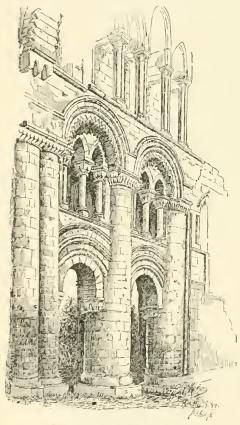
PLAN OF JEDBURGH ABBEY.



comparatively recent times, and was used in the last century as a place of worship.

The sanctuary is a thirteenth-century restoration, and one of the latest parts of the abbey.

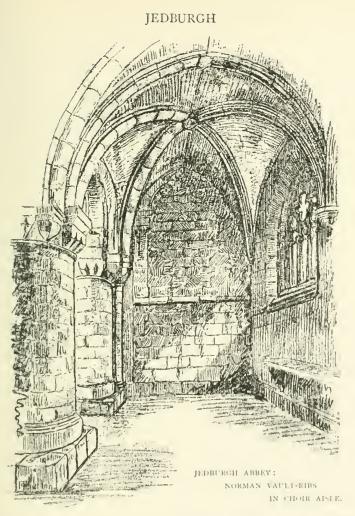
The most ancient portion of the church, the portion that



JEDBURGH: TWO BAYS OF CHOIR. Point 2 on Plan.

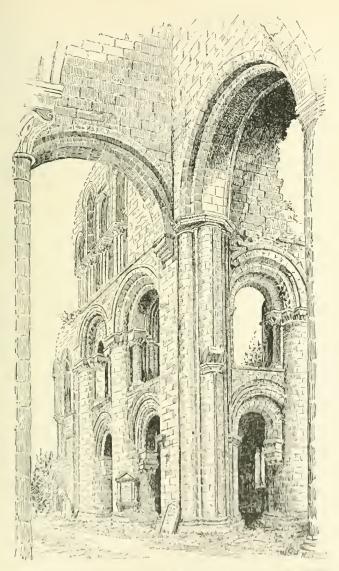
has remained from the foundation, and which David in his youth saw consecrated with much pomp, is the choir. This is very short in proportion to the length of the nave. As will be seen from the drawing, it is divided into bays by huge cylindrical piers extending to the springing of the triforium arches. The bays are again divided by less massive piers. The arches of the ground story are supported between these piers, not upon colonettes, as was the universal method from the earliest period, but upon cumbersome corbels. The

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mouldings of the archivolt, of which there are several, end abruptly against the piers; the broad triforium arches rest upon the cushion capitals of the main piers, as we have seen, and embrace a sub-order of two diminutive pointed arches resting upon low, thick colonettes. These little arches were pointed, owing to lack of space, I should judge, rather than from choice. The compound capitals of the great piers and the simple caps of the colonettes are of the finely fluted cushion type, the mouldings of the arches are purely Norman, heavy and simple. Those of the triforium are enriched by the use of zigzag and a bold continuous label. Above the triforium the early structure has been replaced by later work, but at the springing of the great tower arches in the northern angles are preserved two huge corbels of Norman design and several voussoirs ornamented with the zigzag. The side aisles of the choir were originally vaulted with heavy Norman vaults supported by ribs of simple section and somewhat domed. The south aisle still shows a half of one of the original vaults, the other half having been replaced with considerable skill late in the thirteenth century. One of the drawings illustrates this bit of Norman construction, with its ribs and their supporting corbels and engaged columns; and the interesting fragment here is a piece of original east wall preserving a window jamb with colonette and remnant of arch, showing that in Jedburgh as well as in the later churches the sanctuary was aisleless.

This same style of solid Norman work is seen also in the two bays of the transepts. The tower arch which opens into this arm of the south transept is round-arched and simply moulded, but its most interesting feature is the remnant of a



EENEATH THE TOWER, LOOKING INTO CHOIR AND SOLIH TRANSFER. Pernt 3 on Plan.

broad barrel vault which it carries across its entire span. This vault springs immediately above the triforium arches, and its masonry is of the same general style as the Norman work. If this be a fragment of the original structure, it is indeed interesting to find a high vault, and a barrel vault at that, so far in the north. This plan of structure would have necessitated the lighting of the church through the triforium gallery, and introduces another novel question in Scottish Romanesque. Above the vault on the east side is preserved a passageway and stair, which was, and is still, the mode of access to the tower.

To this period belongs also the little doorway in the south wall leading into the garden. On the plan this is marked G. It is a beautiful example of crude but free sculpture. Its series of arch mouldings are interesting in the extreme, they include so many of the varieties of Norman mouldings.

As one may see from the sketch, the weather has made serious inroads upon the lower portion of the work. But the thoughtful owner of the abbey has had a complete restoration of the doorway inserted in the wall beside the ancient monument at a little distance. From this the architect interested in Romanesque ornament may make an accurate drawing.

We may safely place all this work, so primitive in its massiveness, so crudely wrought, among the earliest specimens of native art of the first period of Norman influence in Scotland.

### JEDBURGH

Yet its finely fluted capitals and the beauty of some of its parts would assign it to David's time rather than to the period



NORMAN DOORWAY LEADING INTO CLOISTER.

of Dunfermline's nave. Surely it had been completed when the French monks arrived. They could not have been responsible for a piece of architecture more primitive even than that of a church already old in their own city of Beauvais — the church of St. Stephen in that city had been built over fifty years when they left.

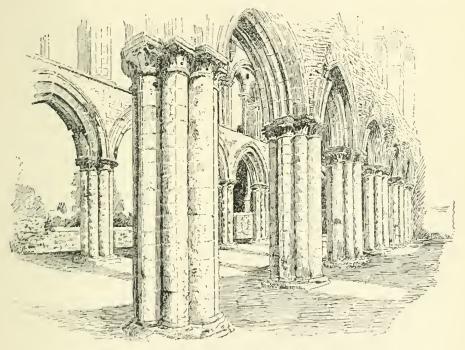
The presence of Norman work in the western and southern walls and in the piers of the tower adjoining the nave would indicate that this portion of the edifice, which is now in full pointed style, was in the original construction of Norman design. It is, of course, possible, as has been suggested, that the nave was designed on Norman lines and these few parts executed, but that owing to some delay the remainder was not carried out until the pointed style had come in vogue and the plans altered.

There are no records to show that there was ever in the history of the abbey a disaster in its early days that might have ruined a Norman nave; nor yet any evidence that there was cause for a long delay in building any nave at all. Either position is easily tenable in the absence of facts, but certain it is that the present nave is not of late construction. The inner walls with their three stories of arches are almost intact. The pointed arches and clustered columns of the main arcade present forms and proportions of unmistakable Early English design. The fragments of aisle vaults manifest evidence of structure quite Gothic in character. The broad triforium arches are round, embracing two pointed sub-arches with a circular

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### JEDBURGH

opening in the spandrel, a design not uncommon in Early English work, seen in the triforium of York Minster. The clerestory, within and without, consists of a continuous series of



PIERS AND ARCHES OF THE NAVE, FROM NORTH AISLE. Point 6 on Plan.

narrow pointed lancets ungrouped, some open to form windows. The arcades on the interior form a fine clerestory passage around the nave. From the construction and design at this level, it is apparent that the nave was not intended to have a vaulted roof.

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In all three stories, then, we have a fine example of dignified first pointed style on English lines, but in the details we see at once the result of the workings of an influence quite different. The abaci of the capitals of the clustered columns and colonettes are rectangular, and the carving of the capitals themselves, the bases, the profiles of all the mouldings, are far more suggestive of the French style of the transition than of insular work. These capitals with their abaci are strangely reminiscent of the late Norman details of the cathedral of Bayeux. The design of their conventionalized foliage even in direct comparison is strikingly like that of the transitional churches of Laon and Beauvais. Is it not this last name that gives the clew to the appearance of detail here in Jedburgh, totally unlike anything of its kind in Great Britain? Is it not the work of the monks from the great Benedictine convent at Beauvais that we see in these elegantly carved capitals and mouldings?

If this is so, the date of this part of the abbey would be fixed considerably before the opening of the thirteenth century, while the *personnel* of the monastery remained distinctively French, unrecruited by initiates from the north country.

Soon after the completion of the nave it was found necessary, for some cause now unknown, to rebuild the eastern bay of the choir; from the latest research on the spot it has been shown that this restoration was carried out on old foundations, JEDBURGH

so that the plan of the choir was not altered. The rebuilding was of course in pointed style, more English than the work in the nave, but clumsily joined to the older part. Very little of this restoration was spared in the later catastrophe that befell the abbey.

If a barrel vault, like that of which a fragment remains in the transept, covered the central portion of the choir, it was destroyed at the time of this rebuilding; for a clerestory was now added to the choir with an arcaded passage like that in the nave. In still later years some further restorations were undertaken within the church when the outer wall of the south transept was renewed with pointed traceried windows and the outer half of the aisle vaults was renewed. At this period the north transept was extended, but the restorations of modern times have quite obliterated all of the ancient work.

The monastic buildings, situated to the south of the abbey upon the edge of the steep descent to the river, have completely disappeared. Their position was one that would make disintegration easy and rapid after the beginning of their destruction.

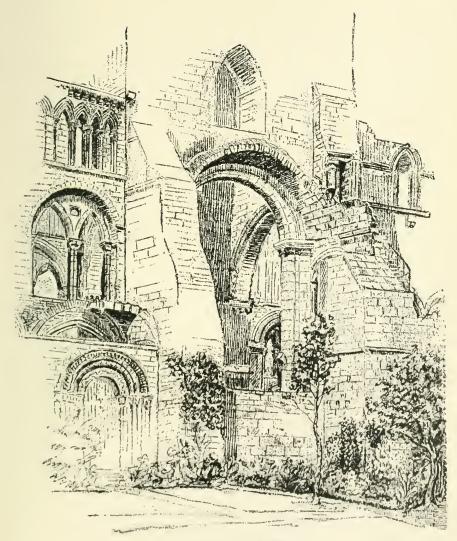
The site of the old cloister, however, is lovely, and is now a bright flower garden, the pride of the keeper of the abbey, who may be mentioned as one of the most agreeable and intelligent of the many officers of this kind that we meet in Great Britain; full of information and deeply imbued with a loving interest in his charge, he is able to communicate his enthusiasm to all who feel the slightest interest.

In the garden a few remnants of ancient sculpture attract attention, and somewhere in safe keeping the custodian has some carved slabs which he will show to visitors. These have been called Celtic remains, but the most beautiful of them is an arabesque design of Romanesque appearance. It was probably part of an altar.

The history of Jedburgh is rather obscure after its founding by David I., while he was only Prince of Cumbria. The abbey must have increased with great rapidity in worldly wealth, for the extensive church edifice that we have to-day was built within eighty years after its foundation.

The only great pageant recorded as celebrated within the abbey was the second marriage of King Alexander III., in 1285, to Iolanda, daughter of the Count of Dreux. This union was looked upon with great superstition by the people, for only a few months later the good king was thrown from his horse on the Fifeshire coast, and killed, leaving no issue but the Norway Maid, whose untimely death ended the great line of Malcolm and St. Margaret, and opened Scotland to twenty years of troubled warfare.

Like all the abbeys of the border country, Jedburgh suffered sack at the hands of Edward I.'s army during the war for inde-

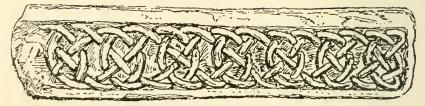


VIEW FROM THE GARDEN.

## SCOTLAND'S RUINED ABBEYS

pendence; but although the domestic buildings were demolished, and the roofs and tower of the church were burned at this time, the main portions of the edifice survived, and were promptly restored. It was probably after this disaster that the south aisle vault was partially ruined, doubtless owing to the destructive action of fire.

During the years of peace that followed the establishment of the house of Stuart on the Scottish throne, the monastery seems to have flourished, but met final destruction in 1554, when Lord Eure invaded Scotland on his raiding expedition; but the portions that he spared and that the townsmen left form one of the most beautiful of all of Scotland's ruined abbeys.



CELTIC SLAB FOUND AT JEDBURGH ABBEY.

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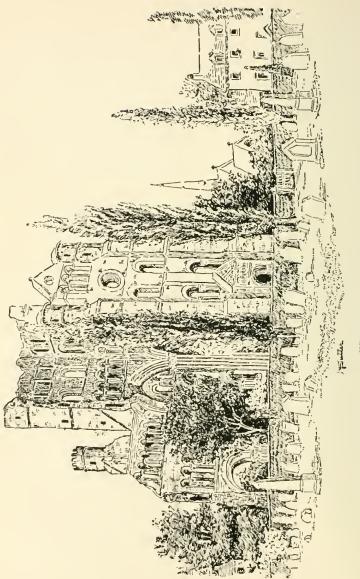
# CHAPTER VI

## KELSO

OWING to their situation in the immediate neighbourhood of a border upon which war was almost incessant for centuries, the group of abbeys along the Tweed had of necessity taken on numerous features which imparted to them a decidedly fortress-like character. This was especially true of those parts of the edifices which were erected during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Castellated forms, such as angle towers with battlemented tops, narrow slit openings, massive ground walls, and portals which might be barricaded like those of castles, are some of the relics of distant days when the hand that held the crosier could wield the sword with equal dignity; when the monk, though he had abjured the things of this world, could at a moment's notice exchange his cowl for a helmet of steel, his staff for the bow and spear.

No finer example of this castellated style of ecclesiastical architecture can be found in Scotland than in the ruins of the abbey church of Kelso. When seen from a distance it is quite impossible to distinguish the massive walls of Kelso

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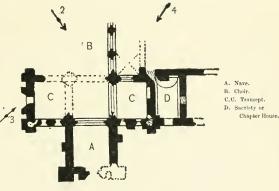


KELSO ABBEY, FROM N.E.

#### KELSO

Abbey, looming up on the horizon, from those of some bold baronial castle. Its turrets and battlemented towers, its high narrow openings, its solid, unbroken wall surface, would indicate that it was built for a stronghold alone. It is only when one is actually within the enclosure that the general plan and outline, the lines of scattered and broken piers, betray the religious purpose of the edifice.

As a ruin Kelso is complete; naught remains in position above the ground save some of the heavier walls. Of these there are those of the nave front in part, and of the



PLAN OF KELSÖ ABBEY.

transepts complete, with two sides of the central tower, and a small fragment of choir wall and arcade. The peculiarity of this church is that the dimensions of nave and choir are reversed, the longer end being the eastern, while the nave is short and narrow, having, like the transepts, only the one great aisle, of the same width as the central tower. It is curious to observe that in their ruin the front wall of the nave and the great central tower were each broken in halves, as if cut with a huge knife, one half disappearing completely, the other still standing almost intact. So accurate was this severing in the front wall that the great portal is represented by a single cluster of columns surmounted by one half of a recessed arch.

The structure, or what remains of it, is pretty nearly confined to a single epoch. The style represented is principally late Norman, with here and there a touch of early pointed work. The abbey was founded in 1128, when the first signs of the transition were beginning to manifest themselves in France; but the full bloom of the Romanesque had not passed in the North. It seems to have been completed, or nearly so, in 1152, while the Norman style was still lingering in the confines of the North. The arches throughout are round, the capitals severely plain, but, in the higher portions of the choir especially, the slender engaged shafts and the tall narrow arcades point to the coming change which was already finding expression in the Early English work across the border. The tower was supported upon four huge clustered piers of Norman design with pointed arches. The two surviving bays of the south wall of the choir, as the drawing shows, have broad Norman arches and heavy cylindrical piers of grouped columns.

The caps of these piers are of the cushion type carved

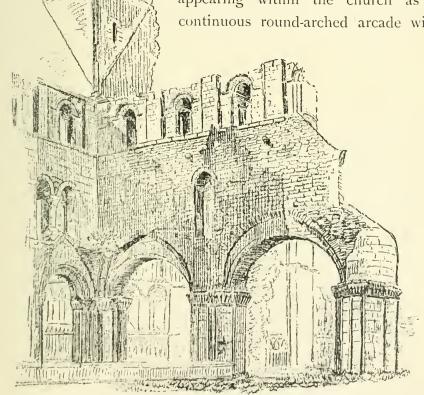
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with the fine flutings already mentioned as characteristic of David I.'s reign.

Above these runs a low triforium passage in the thickness of the wall, appearing within the church as a continuous round-arched arcade with

RELSO: AISLE OF CHOIR.

Point 4 on Plan.



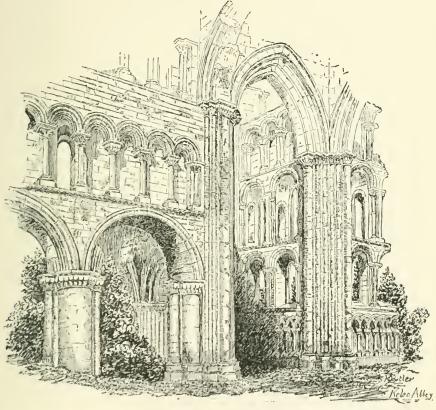
very slender single colonettes, graceful spreading capitals, and rich, deeply carved mouldings.

Above the triforium appears another round-arched arcade, but this is supported by clusters of three slender colonettes with compound capitals almost transitional in design. This arcade was carried around the entire church at the same level with a window opening out of each bay.

The remnant of choir aisle shows on the exterior a remnant of heavy Norman vaulting, so we may conclude that both aisles were vaulted. The roofs above these vaults were carried up quite high, to the clerestory ledge, where appear the unmistakably Romanesque windows of the uppermost story.

In the transepts and little nave, where there were no side aisles, the stories were arranged differently from the choir. In the ground story we have a rich wall arcade of interlacing arches, and above this, window openings, large on the interior and quite narrow on the outer surface of the wall, divided internally by a section of wall flanked by nook shafts which sustain the simple window arches. The triforium story consists of a row of windows similar to those below and similarly divided. A passage runs in the thickness of the wall at this level. Above the triforium is the clerestory arcade and windows already described.

The high portions were never vaulted. We may only surmise what the style of the structure of the apse and choir may have been; in the latter, as we have seen in the picture, two bays have given us a clew. We are very safe in assuming that

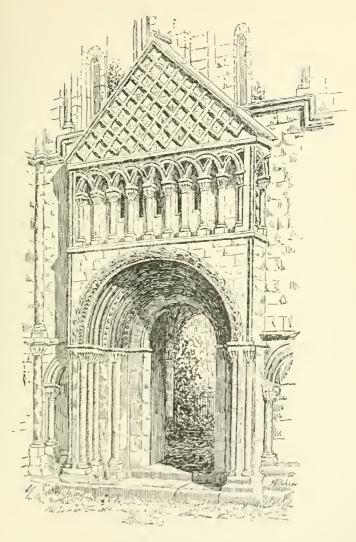


KELSO: INTERIOR FROM CHOIR. Point 2 ou Plan.

this, of all the abbeys we are studying, was one that knew no restoration; it perished as it had been founded, a monument of late Norman work in Scotland.

The outer angles of the nave, those of the transepts and the great tower, were provided with heavy square towers having circular or octagonal crenellated tops. The three stories are of nearly equal height, their openings are Norman in style and proportion, and are separated by wide pilasters; the gables of the transepts are pierced each with a small circular window without a remnant of tracery. The most interesting portions, decoratively, are the portals. The main doorway, alluded to before, though sadly broken, preserves a few bits of good carving, but it is the north portal that attracts our attention (see drawing). This portal consists of a set of round arches not deeply recessed; the spandrels of the arch are brought to a straight line, above which is imposed an arcade of interlaced round arches upon colonettes of equal height; above them the masonry is again carried up several courses and brought to a gable, the face of which is decorated by a simple pattern of oblique squares. The whole design gives an impression of grace and symmetry seldom seen in Norman work, a happy blending of solidity and lightness. Nothing in the ornament or the construction suggests the transition, yet it is not the work of the Normans who built the nave of Dunfermline or the walls of Durham.

Adjoining the south wall is a rather narrow barrel-vaulted structure entered by a door of good Norman design. Within we find an oblong chamber with a fine interlaced arcade adorn-



KELSO: NORTH FORCH. Point 3 on Plan, Colonettes restored.

ing its four walls, and a sort of continuous seat carried all around. An opening in the northeast corner, now walled up, doubtless connected with the church, though it may originally have led by an angle to the cloister. This building is called the Chapter House; and it is certainly the first of a number of monastic buildings of two stories that joined the transept end, as the marks of gabled construction are still visible upon the wall. But this would have been an unusual location for a chapter house, directly adjoining the church, and is much more likely to have been the sacristy. But it is difficult to tell whether the cloister court adjoined the choir or the nave. In the latter case, the exceedingly short nave would have afforded little protection to the garth: if the cloister took the more unusual position, it is strange to find the entrance to the remaining chamber on the west. This point raises the question whether this was perhaps not merely a passage.

The entire edifice as we have it, unique as a specimen of a style, the persistent use of Romanesque forms throughout, with a highly refined treatment of details, the frank employment of the pointed arch in the supports of the tower, all foreshadow the transition, and would seem to indicate that the style of David's reign was not like the barbaric Norman of the last twenty-five years of the eleventh century, nor yet the still heavy style of the first quarter of the twelfth, but a lighter and more elegant system of construction and a more graceful theory of design that distinguishes it from earlier phases of northern Romanesque.

The abbey of Kelso was founded in 1128, four years after David's coronation. Twenty-five years later David laid his son, Henry Earl of Northumberland, in a tomb within the walls of the church. This honour was of course accompanied with heavy endowments, and the abbey buildings became more and more extensive. The establishment was one for Tironesian monks, an order of Cistercians whose founder, Bernard the Elder, though trained in an order of strictest asceticism, took for himself and his followers a different view of life, one of utilitarianism. While the older order courted temptation, in order to resist it, and mortified the flesh, the new order sought, by keeping their hands well employed, to give Satan no opportunity. They followed those worldly pursuits which involved manual labour. The lands of the abbey were carefully and extensively tilled by them; some of them were carpenters, others were stonecutters and masons. Specimens of the handicraft of the last two still remain. It is to these skilful monks that we owe the masterful work upon the north transept with its exquisite portal, the delicate mouldings of the arcades which make them seem too fine for Norman work, and the skilful adjustment of the tower to its supports.

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With the increase of endowments and benefices the abbey soon became the richest and largest in Scotland. In 1165, Pope Alexander III. conferred the mitre upon the Abbot of Kelso, and gave the abbey precedence over all the monastic institutions in the Kingdom. In the disputes that arose as to the succession of the monarchy after the death of the Maid of Norway, the Abbot of Kelso represented the interests of John Baliol, and was, in consequence, not highly in favour after the advent of Bruce to the throne. In modern times a portion of the abbey was converted into a prison, which Scott makes the jail-house of Eddie Ochiltree.

The church seems to have escaped the ravages of the wars with Edward I. and the subsequent invasions, for no vestige of restoration in decorated or perpendicular style is to be found. But neither Kelso nor any other establishment in the Middle Marches was spared the violence of the Earl of Hertford and other of Henry VIII.'s relentless emissaries (1545). The story of the taking of Kelso is a most thrilling one. A large force of the English had surrounded the abbey, artillery was mounted close to its walls and the storming began. The brave defenders were driven from the embattled close to the buildings near the church. Obliged to yield one after another of these, they finally withdrew to the church, with hopes of saving themselves and it, but the stout walls and defence towers had not been built to withstand the shock of cannonade and could not hold out long. When a breach had been made and the earl had offered a reward to the men who should first scale the walls, a band of Spanish mercenaries charged and were soon in possession of the church; a few of the surviving monks took refuge in the tower, where a single man at the top of the winding stairs could hold his place against the invaders. This place they held all night, escaping at dawn on the following day. The "house" was then demolished and has ever since lain in desolation, of which —

> "No legend needs to tell, For story's pen must fail to write What ruin paints so well."

## CHAPTER VII

#### MELROSE

EVERY one who has been in Scotland, and every one who knows Scott, is more or less acquainted with Melrose and its beautiful, historic abbey.

But few who have read the advice —

"If thou wouldst see fair Melrose aright, Go visit it by the pale moonlight"-

few even of those who have had opportunity to take the hint, have thought of the abbey as anything more than a picturesque ruin, enchanted by some mysterious sentiment and surrounded by a

ST. ANDREW OF MELROSE.

dim halo of associations which mean little or nothing to them. Then the guide-books have something to say about the abbey's being rich in association of this, that, and the other Scottish hero, prince, or poet. Then, too, there are a number of indecipherable Latin inscriptions which might convey a clew to the identity of the illustrious dead who are said to repose there. So that the impression left



upon the mind by a visit to Melrose is one of beauty, but one vague and intangible in the extreme. There is certainly a charm about Melrose which is not shared by any other of the abbeys of Scotland; due not only to the manifold legends and traditions that are interwoven with its history,



MELROSE ABBEY, FROM S.W.

but to the peculiar beauty of the ruin, the rare delicacy of the workmanship, and the crude richness of its sculpture; for the church was rebuilt when the Gothic style was in full, even late bloom, and the character of the stone used is such that, hardening with age, it preserves the minutest details of carving in tracery and in sculpture. So that, though a most complete ruin, Melrose does not tend to disintegrate and crumble into the mould again, but holds its own, rich and beautiful though shattered, more lovely perhaps because it has been so mellowed by being left to itself and the weather, its only occupants the bats, the owls, and the lichens.

Melrose, a quaint and ancient village on one of the direct lines between London and Edinburgh, has few attractions to offer beside its famous abbey. Whatever else of beauty or of interest it may possess is completely eclipsed by the stately grandeur of its massive ruin.

The abbey does not stand aloof from the cluster of more humble cottages which form the hamlet, and has permitted them to nestle about its very walls on two sides; but to the south and east lies the old burial ground; beyond this the open country stretches away toward the Eildon Hills.

Unlike many of the abbeys that we have been looking at, Melrose stands, in some of its parts at least, in a very good state of preservation. As the plan indicates, the walls and vaults of the apse are complete; the transept walls and a few of its vaults are also standing; the tower has fallen, leaving only the western side. The three bays westward of the tower, comprising the choir (this was the position of the choir in many Cistercian churches), are complete, with vaulted aisles and the chapels of the south aisle. The western end of the

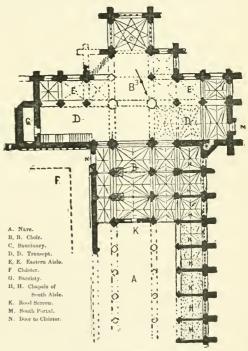
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choir is marked by a heavy rood screen; beyond this naught of the nave remains save five unroofed chapels of the south aisle.

The abbey, though founded in 1136 and built immediately thereafter, preserves no vestige of its primitive structure unless

the core of the heavy north wall of the nave and the west wall of the north transept, now hidden in a later revetment of cut stone, can claim to be of the original foundation.

The earliest part of the ruin is the magnificent section of the nave, which, as we have seen, was brought into requisition as a portion of the choir. These three bays are probably the finest specimen of the decorated style north of the Cheviot Hills, and manifest their



PLAN OF MELROSE ABBEY.

kinship with Whitby and the Abbey of Fountains. We have here three bays, with fine groups of slender columns whose capitals are richly and delicately wrought in foliate designs, broad, pointed arches heavily moulded, and above them an interesting combination of triforium and clerestory. It comprises, first, a passage above the main arches, divided from the open space beneath the aisle roofs by a curtain wall. The passage appears within the nave in two openings in each bay, provided with a traceried balustrade. These openings are carried up to embrace the clerestory window, which opens in cusped lancets over the aisle roof. The arrangement is striking and effective. The bays are divided one from the other by a cluster of delicate vaulting shafts, which rise from corbels, just above the main capitals, in true English fashion, to support a radiating group of slender ribs. In this part of the church a pointed tunnel vault has been inserted, in comparatively recent times, to sustain the Gothic vault. This uncouth structure completely hides the northern half of the nave vault, and all but conceals the other; but a minute examination reveals the original construction as described above.

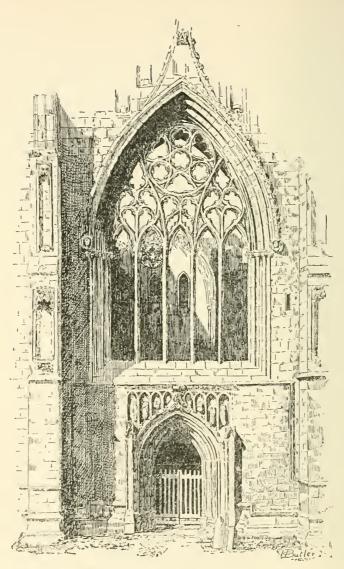
The side aisles at this point are also vaulted; the north aisle, being much narrower than the other, is consequently much domed. This discrepancy in measurement was in all probability due to a change of proportions at the time of rebuilding, and the cloister court stood in the way of widening this aisle when the nave and south aisle were enlarged.

The vault structure of the south aisle is of later construction than that opposite, and is doubtless coeval with the eight

chapels of this aisle which are among the latest additions to the abbey.

The rood screen which delineated the province of the choir within the nave is a massive structure of one story, well preserved; the arched opening in its centre is vaulted in the thickness of the wall, within which a narrow stair leads to the top of the screen or organ loft. That another screen separated this choir from the side aisles is clear from the fragments of wall to be found incorporated with the piers as part of the original design.

The remains in decorated style embrace also the west and north walls of the north transept, the remaining half of the tower with its two piers, the first bay of the south transept next to the crossing, and the glorious south end with the walls of the adjoining bay of the transept aisle. The north transept wall is almost perfectly plain on the ground story, broken only at the north end by a low round-arched doorway leading into the sacristy, and another, somewhat elevated and originally reached by a straight flight of steps that connected with the upper story of the domestic part of the monastery. Above these doorways the north wall is pierced by three simple lancets crowned by a small wheel window of considerable depth. The upper story of the adjoining bays of the western wall corresponds with the arrangement in the nave, except that the passage is somewhat lower and the windows



MELROSE: END OF SOUTH TRANSEPT.

thus elongated, while the bays to the right and left of the crossing are in all respects like the bays of the nave, but narrower, having single instead of double windows.

The next two bays to the south are of later building; but the entire south end is in the finest style of the decorated period. The doorway is treated in later style; but the great window which almost fills the space beneath the wall rib of the vault is one of the most beautiful in Great Britain. Perhaps the sketch of the window, with the door below and the elegant series of niches above, will give a clearer idea than words of the exterior form of this transept end.

The tracery of this window is exceedingly rich and flowing, and, fortunately, perfect as when glazed. The delicate jamb mouldings and slender shafts, the graceful sculptured heads, are all in the same style as the window, but the rich ogee mouldings and the sumptuous canopied niches are probably a little later. To this second period also belongs all of the important buttress system of the exterior with its flying arches and decorated pinnacles.

All the remainder of the choir and transepts is in another style, the date of which, from its perpendicular tendencies, we cannot fix much before the middle of the fifteenth century. The manner in which the later work is joined to the old, the amount of patching that is evident, make it clear that the rebuilding was done as the result of disaster rather than by design. Beginning at the west, the first bit of this work is discovered in the west wall of the south transept, where two bays are inserted between the decorated work adjoining the



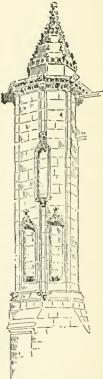
MELROSE: WEST WALL OF SOUTH TRANSEPT. From Point 3 on Plan.

tower and the south window. One of these bays is perfectly plain on the interior, the other manifests its late period in the clerestory, which, though preserving the level of the older work, consists in the interior of a broad mullioned and traceried

opening that fills the entire bay, and on the exterior of a similar window with a different pattern of tracery, a pattern that could be considered to belong to the older work. Next to this bay is a beautiful little octagonal stair tower, adorned with niches and gargoyles and terminating in a low crocketed spire.

The eastern portions of the choir and the adjacent bays and chapels were greatly damaged by the fall of the tower, which carried down most of the vaults, but enough was spared to speak for the rest.

The whole eastern aisle, except the south bay, with the two bays of the choir east of the crossing and the aisleless sanctuary, are all in the same style and are built of a different stone from that of the older parts of the building, a stone of a more yellow hue. The clustered piers here are of different section from those of the decorated period, and the flowing capitals give place to moulded ones adorned with conventional rosettes or Tudor flowers. The com-



MELROSE: STAIR TOWER IN SOUTH TRANSEPT.

bined triforium and clerestory — the general plan of which was borrowed from the older portions of the church — now almost fills with its openings the entire width of each bay, as we have already seen in the first of the new work. In the eastern aisle and choir, however, the outer tracery of the window stiffens into fully developed perpendicular. The sanctuary has no triforium nor clerestory, but is provided with three huge richly traceried windows, the central one of which, though unique, is, like its companions, more of perpendicular than any other style. The tracery of the window to the south, as we may discover in the sketch of the apse, takes the form of a tall central cross between two smaller ones, and is said to symbolize Calvary.

The vaulting of the parts east of the nave is of two epochs, the one, coeval with the lower work in the transepts, and bearing on one of its keystones the arms of Abbot Hunter (1450–60), is provided with extra ribs or tiercerons introduced for a richer effect, and the other, that over the sanctuary, which is of very late type and is practically a barrel vault adorned with a network of fine ribs, a species of vault structure in vogue just before the introduction of fan vaulting in England. The row of chapels adjoining the south aisle of the nave seems to have been added at two periods, the first at about the same time that the repairs were undertaken, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the other in the beginning of the sixteenth.

These dates are arrived at by marks left upon the work, presumably during its construction. The first and fifth but-

tresses east of the transept bear the arms of Abbot Hunter, which would not be likely to have been added after 1460; while the eighth is embellished with the royal arms, the letters I. Q. (Jacobus Quartus), and the date 1505, showing the interest of James IV. in the abbey.

This series of aisle chapels is simply an outer aisle divided by light partitions between the piers and wall buttresses. The piers consist of beautiful clustered shafts with freely carved capitals. The windows are spacious and filled with varied forms of early decorated tracery, which seems to be a stumbling-block to those who wish to assign to them a date after the middle of the fourteenth century. It seems quite plain, however, that this tracery is the original adornment of the decorated nave that when the chapels were built the tracery of the aisle windows was simply moved to the outer wall; for this was a work of expansion, not restoration, and the tracery of the newed. The vaulting of these chapels is intricate, and evidently late. The adjoining aisle seems to have been revaulted at the time the chapels were added.

The exterior of Melrose is in some respects more French in appearance than any ecclesiastical edifice in Scotland. The prominent buttresses are provided with canopied niches, some of which retain their sculpture; slender pier buttresses rising through the aisle roof to support sets of two flying buttresses are also adorned with niches and terminate in richly decorated Gothic pinnacles. The deep mouldings, the wealth of grotesque gargoyles and other figures, make it seem so like early French Gothic work that we may assume a French architect, or at least a student of French architecture, designed portions of the abbey, and that some of the builders, those Cistercian monks, had come from France.

The two periods of style are manifest without as within, though not in the same degree. If we compare the design and construction of the buttresses, with their pinnacles and canopied niches and the flying arches of the eastern portions of the edifice with the same details in the western end, we shall find a very considerable difference in character and type.

The sculpture within and without is rich and plentiful for a northern clime. The interior abounds in beautiful capitals and mouldings carved in most delicate foliate designs. The variety is remarkable, almost all of the native leaves being wrought in the hard brown stone; the oak leaf and the thistle are prominent. Most graceful and flowing and most deeply carved is the capital of the easternmost column in the south aisle; the design is a naturalistic treatment of the domestic Scotch kale; so humble and so crude in nature, it becomes most rich and delicate in the sphere of art.

A corbel in the north transept is ornamented with the form of a female hand clasping a spray of flowers; the execution of

this charming design is equal to that of the best French Gothic sculpture. The ponderous keystones of the fallen high vaults have been preserved by themselves, They represent human heads with masses of flowing hair. The boss of the great central tower represents the head of David I.; another is that of his queen, Matilda; a third is something like the

head of Medusa. This, tradition says, represents the head of Michael Scott, the famous wizard, who was buried here in the east corner of the south chancel chapel, if we may believe the account given in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel. There is another boss, smaller but most attractive, that of the diminutive vault under the rood screen. It represents the head of our Lord wearing the crown of thorns.

HEAD OF MICHAEL SCOTT ON A

KEYSTONE.

The walls of the numerous chapels throughout the church edifice bear some beautiful specimens of carved piscinas and ambries. These, as well as more important details, manifest the handiwork of artists trained in different epochs of architectural history.

The figure sculpture of the interior is not especially fine, but is interesting in this locality; a few of the niches contain their statues, one of St. Bridget in a chapel dedicated to that saint in the south transept, two of St. Peter and St. Paul in niches with well-preserved canopies in the west wall of the north transept. These, with a few grotesque figures in the

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balustrade below the great south window, would indicate that the church was the possessor of a rare collection of barbaric Gothic sculpture when its destruction came.

The exterior was quite as rich in the handiwork of the sculptor; the gables are filled with a stepped series of canopied niches; the slender pinnacles and the flying buttresses are richly adorned with crockets and finials; every buttress had its niche of statuary, the canopies of which are most exquisitely carved and well preserved. Iconoclastic hands in early Reformation times robbed the majority of the niches of their "images," leaving only a scant half-dozen. The niche of the westernmost pier buttress contains a group representing the Virgin and Child beneath a tabernacle. The next niche holds St. Andrew. It would seem as if these two, the figures of the Virgin and the national saint, had been purposely spared.

The central and uppermost niche of the series in the eastern gable is occupied by an interesting group representing the coronation of the Virgin, a favourite subject with the Cistercian order. Other sculpture is seen in a niche bracket, where a group of two figures represents the blind carrying the lame — a curious composition. A number of grotesque gargoyles, decorative heads and figures, finely carved and vigorously designed, complete the remains of the abbey's sculptured decoration.

It was about the middle of the seventh century that Eata, one of the companion monks of St. Aidan, who with the saint had set out from the holy precincts of Iona to convert the lowlands, set foot in Melrose, and upon an eminence almost surrounded by a loop of the winding Tweed founded a religious retreat.

The cell of Eata became famous in the lonely vale of Tweed. Hither in his youth came the saintly Cuthbert, who later became bishop of all Northumbria, with his throne in Lindisfarne. In later years the monks of Lindisfarne, driven from their home by the furious Danes, fled to Melrose, bringing with them the sacred bones of St. Cuthbert.

> "The monks fled forth from Holy Isle O'er northern mountain, marsh, and moor, From sea to sea, from shore to shore, Seven years St. Cuthbert's corpse they bore. They rested him in fair Melrose; But though, alive, he loved it well, Not there his relics might repose."

Nor were they willing to rest in a number of places tried by the weary monks, until they finally reached the "lordly seat" where now the towers of majestic Durham "look down upon the Wear."

Although during the eleventh century, when the Culdee Church was rapidly losing ground, the cell at Melrose had almost disappeared, it was again, toward the end of the century, of sufficient importance to be a place of retirement for the monk Turgot, the confessor of the saint-queen Margaret, who later held the foremost see of the Kingdom as Bishop of St. Andrews. But when under the new ecclesiastical influence David I. refounded the convent of Melrose, it was decided to move the site some two and half miles up the river.

Melrose Abbey was consecrated with great solemnity in 1146, ten years after its founding, — an extensive edifice of Norman character to be the home of a body of Cistercian monks imported from Rievalle in Yorkshire, the pioneers of their order in Scotland. Heavily endowed by David I. in its original charter, the abbey was constantly enriched by gifts from the Crown and from noble families until it became a treasurehouse of rare and costly works of art and a centre of monastic learning; for, we are told, many of the monks of Melrose spent their lives at the weary task of copying and transcribing the abbey's store of books and ancient manuscripts brought from France.

The endowment of Melrose did not cease with the death of David; in 1238 Alexander II., who was a great patron of the abbey, and who chose it for his last resting-place, presented the abbey with the extensive lands of Ettrick Forest.

To-day in the apse one is shown an ancient stone which is said to have covered the tomb of King Alexander, and within

the doorway of the sacristy is a slab which covered the remains of his queen Johanna.

As the abbey increased in numbers as well as in wealth, the influence of Melrose spread throughout the North. The pioneer of its order in Scotland, it became now the mother of Cistercian foundations all over the Kingdom; Kinloss, Newbattle, Glenluce, were all the offspring of Melrose. During the war of independence the abbey was spared while Edward I. lived, by the fealty of its abbot to the English Crown; but the well-filled coffers, the costly vessels of gold and silver, the rich vestments of Melrose, were well known throughout that wild border country of the North. Unprotected by any force of arms, they soon fell prey to the greed of the English armies, especially of that baffled and enraged host under Edward II. (1322), which, retreating from the field of Bannockburn, where they had left thirty thousand English slain, wreaked vengeance upon many of the defenceless shrines of Scotland.

The abbey's great wealth seems to have called forth special violence, for scarcely a vestige of the early fabric is to be found. It is to this calamity, dreadful as it must have seemed to the homeless inmates, that we owe the exquisite beauty of the new shrine. Since the consecration of the abbey, the Gothic style had been perfected in France and had reached full bloom in England. Melrose destroyed had been too carly to profit by the lessons taught in France, but Melrose restored takes advantage of every principle peculiar to the pointed style. It may not have the soaring height nor the perfect symmetry of the French churches, but it is second to few, very few, in delicacy of design and expression and in gracefulness of line and composition.

It was largely due to the munificence of King Robert Bruce that the abbey was restored on so sumptuous a scale. Shortly before his death Bruce made his will, bequeathing a large sum to Melrose. He recommended the monastery to the favour of his son, and requested that his heart be laid in its choir. Subsequently, however, he changed his mind in regard to this last request, and commissioned Sir James Douglas to carry his heart to the Holy Land. The story is well known: how the brave Sir James tried in vain to carry out his royal master's dying request, how he was repulsed, what dangers he encountered on his mission of love and duty, how he was finally killed by the Saracens in Spain, in 1330, while fighting under Alfonso, king of Leon and Castile, and how his body and his precious charge were recovered and brought back to Scotland. It was then that the former request was complied with, and a stone engraved with a cross now marks the reputed spot where lies the heart of Bruce.

Near the heart of Bruce, beneath the fretted vault of the sanctuary, was laid the body of the "good Sir James," amid

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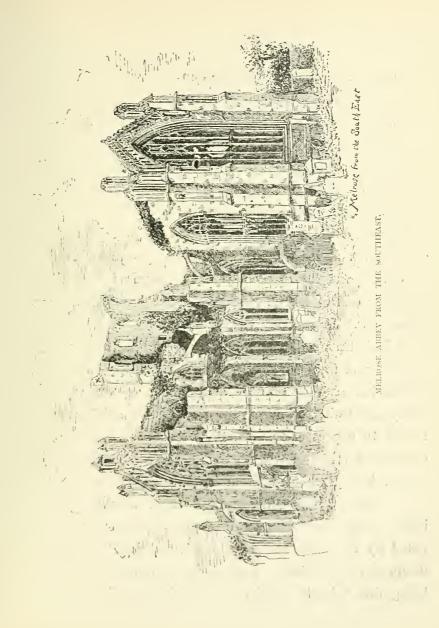
the tombs of the Douglas family.<sup>1</sup> In the Douglas vault lay the remains of Sir William Douglas of Lothian, and William, first Earl of Douglas; of Sir William Douglas, the "Dark Knight of Liddesdale," "The Flower of Chivalry;" of James, Earl of Douglas, slain by Harry Hotspur on the field of Otterburn, celebrated in the English ballad of "Chevy Chase," and innumerable other scions of that renowned house. In 1544 Sir Ralph Evers despoiled the tombs of the Douglases while defacing other parts of the abbey.

For forty years the abbey was held by Edward III. as on English territory, but the inmates suffered no harm and the buildings remained intact. In 1384 the abbey suffered again from English visitation under Richard II., who, having passed the night beneath the abbey's roof, repaid for its hospitality by setting it on fire. By this act Richard II. left his stamp upon the edifice. For the portions then destroyed, the transepts and choir, were rebuilt in the style inaugurated in England during that monarch's reign. To do him justice, it is said that the English king made handsome gifts to Melrose to restore the damage his troops had caused. It is true that the church

<sup>1</sup> Another tradition holds that Sir James was buried in St. Bride's, Lanarkshire, where are many tombs of later Douglases, and an elaborate tomb has been assigned to him in that church. Blore, in his "Monumental Remains," pronounces the effigy there to be anterior to Sir James's time, and the canopy is much later. It is possible that a monument was erected to him here by his son Archibald, even though his body reposed with the older Douglases at Melrose.

was restored in excellent style, and, under Abbot Hunter, in the middle of the fifteenth century, attained its old-time prestige. This famous superior was at one time the ambassador of James II. to France, and later Lord High Treasurer of the Kingdom. As we have already seen, this abbot left his imprint upon the church edifice. For over a hundred years more the abbey flourished; in 1542 no less than two hundred brethren, monks and laymen, were in service at Melrose. The abbey did not escape the "scourge of God," as the Earl of Hertford might have been called by the Scottish monastics: it met final destruction at his hands in 1545. If the Earl left anything in the way of pillage undone, it was thoroughly performed by the promoters of the Reformation. From that time the ruin went rapidly to decay and was used as a quarry by the townspeople of Melrose, until, with its lands and titles, it came into the possession of Sir Walter Scott and the noble house of Buccleugh, who have taken every measure to preserve the ruin without imparting a suggestion of restoration or of artificial support.

During Sir Walter's residence at Abbotsford, the abbey was one of his favourite haunts. In the portion of the choir east of the crossing, now almost wholly destroyed, is a pile of broken columns and capitals marking the site of one of the piers. This, Sir Walter chose as the most favoured spot from which to view the abbey. Here he improvised a rustic



seat and often sat with his face toward the grand ruin of the eastern end with its tracery darkly outlined against the changeful sky, and here he was inspired to write the Melrose poem.

I have refrained from quoting further from the famous lines of Scott upon Melrose by moonlight in the "Lay of the Last Ministrel," because I feel that they must be so familiar to every one. But charming as the poem is, and lovely as the sight must be, I cannot recommend it to my readers, to my countrymen at least, to undertake the poetic task.

One is apt to forget how far Scotland is from the equator, and how oddly the Queen of Night behaves in northern latitudes. Not long ago I visited Melrose with a German friend who had travelled many miles to see the abbey. It was in August, and my friend had calculated his time so as to be there at the full of the moon. In the evening we walked to the abbey and waited long for the moon, which, in harvest, we are taught to expect early. Finally she appeared, and like a huge cart wheel rolled slowly up the slope of the Eildons and disappeared behind them without raising her limb from the horizon. Daylight hung on, as it does in northern climes. The light which the refractory orb gave out was completely dissipated by the "gay beams of lightsome day." Just before she disappeared, by placing our heads near the ground, we could bring the "slender shafts of shapely stone" between us and

# MELROSE

the golden disc; but it was far from satisfactory. Such is the behaviour of the Scottish moon in summer time. I am told that at Christmas-tide, when the moon is high in heaven, the children of the neighbourhood gather in the evening within St. David's ruined pile to sing their Christmas carols and make the bare old walls ring out again, as of old, the song of "Peace to men of good will."





KEYSTONES OF HIGH VAULTS, MELROSE.

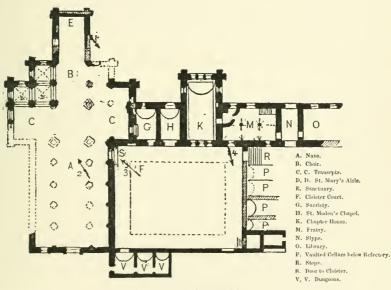
# CHAPTER VIII

# DRYBURGH

THE most natural step from Melrose is to Dryburgh, its ruined sister abbey across the Tweed only a few miles distant. If the traveller is made familiar with the former ruin through the writings of Sir Walter Scott, he is brought to the latter with sentiments quite different — a pilgrim to the tomb of the "Wizard of the North" - which has become a veritable Mecca of the Scots. The abbey of Dryburgh has neither the extent nor the exquisite detail of Melrose; it has not the antiquity nor the historical association of Dunfermline. It is, nevertheless, most attractive for two reasons: the first, already hinted at, for the dust it enshrines, and secondly, for its grace and picturesqueness. Its ruin is complete. A pile of shattered walls and piers, huge mounds almost hidden by the grass that has found footing in the crumbling mass. Scattered blocks and bits of decorated capital or moulding, attract our notice; for the stone of Dryburgh, like that of Melrose, is hard, retaining the carving. The church cannot claim a single unbroken feature. The trees have grown up about it, even within its

## DRYBURGH

walls, and the ivy vine has woven a beautiful garment to hide the shame of its desolation. As was the case in many of the English and Scotch abbeys that met their destruction in warlike assault, the lateral walls and interior supports of Dryburgh have almost entirely disappeared, while the west and



PLAN OF DRYBURGH ABBEY.

south ends are almost the only surviving portions. It is not difficult to see how the walls, with their many openings, would be most pregnable to the pounding of artillery, and that when one breach was made the homogeneous structure of superposed arcades and delicate shafts, dependent upon each other for support, quickly collapsed. As the plan indicates, there are

still standing, of the church edifice, two complete bays of the transept aisle and one of the choir aisle with their vaults intact and the triforium and clerestory above them, the lower part of the sanctuary wall to the height of about six feet, the south transept end complete, the southern wall of the nave, heavy and devoid of openings, and the western wall with its portal. A peculiar architectural interest attaches to Dryburgh on account of the excellent preservation of its original cloister court with some of the domestic buildings on one side of it and the walls and foundations of others on the remaining sides. The group includes two tunnel-vaulted chapels, adjacent to the transept, and the chapter house, in excellent preservation; a long structure, adjoining the chapter house, probably the fratry, not so well preserved; then the slype, and a large structure called the library. Above this continuous line of apartments are preserved parts of the second story, which contained the dormitories, scriptorium, etc. At the centre of the fratry wall the cloister wall turns; a flight of steps in the angle leads down to the lower level upon which the fratry, slype, and other structures open.

On the south side of the cloister are the vaulted cellars of the refectory, which is completely destroyed except for its western gable, which preserves a fine wheel window. At this point the cloister wall forms another angle and is carried north to join the wall of the nave. At its northern end we find three

# DRYBURGH

low vaults, which are called the dungeons. This completes the great quadrangle of the abbey's residential portions. A triangular court seems to have been formed to the south of the refectory, with the so-called library and slype to the east, and on its long side a number of less important buildings, traceable in their ruined foundations.

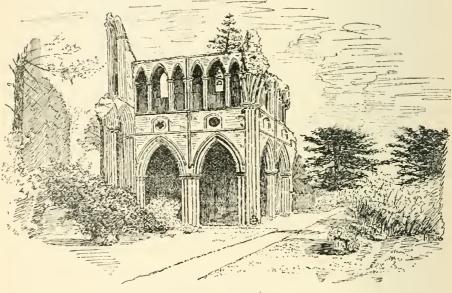
Three distinct styles are represented in these remains. The Norman and early transition claim the entire eastern group of monastic buildings. The church edifice seems to have been wholly of Early English design, and the remaining remnants of the southern buildings of the cloister are largely in decorated style.

For a more detailed examination let us begin with the church. From an examination of the remains of the sanctuary, the southern end of the transept with its attached fragments, and the long lines of pier bases that extend down the length of the nave, we may safely conclude that the three surviving northeastern bays known as St. Mary's aisle are a fair sample of the style and design of the entire edifice. The six-bayed nave with its two aisles, the single-aisled transept, the choir with aisles extending one bay beyond the crossing, and the simple sanctuary, were undoubtedly treated upon the same general lines.

The main arcade of St. Mary's aisle consists of rather plain, pointed arches, supported upon clusters of slender shafts

# SCOTLAND'S RUINED ABBEYS

with capitals of simple moulded Early English type. The shafts of the piers at the crossing are carried up to the clerestory level, where arches spring in two directions to support a central tower. The triforium consists of a plain wall broken



DRYBURGH: ST. MARY'S AISLE. Point 2 on Plan.

in each bay by a flat arched opening filled with a cinquefoil plate. Above this runs the gallery of the clerestory, an open arcade of three lancet-pointed arches in each bay, the central arch being the broadest, resting upon groups of slender colonettes with moulded caps. The windows, which open under the broad arches of the clerestory, are small and plain,

#### DRYBURGH

but pointed. From the caps of the main pier a very delicate shaft rises to the top of the clerestory wall to afford apparent support to the roof timbers, for there is no sign of vault structure. The three vaults are of excellent form, simple in plan and solid in construction, typical of early pointed work. The outer walls have small windows, quite plain within and provided with only a simple label and dog-tooth mouldings on the exterior. St. Mary's aisle contains the simple tomb of Sir Walter Scott.

Adjoining this part is a fragment of north end wall, showing that there were here two stories of tall grouped windows, ornamented with deep mouldings and engaged colonettes. The broken wall of the sanctuary contains a bit of stair which probably connected with the galleries above.

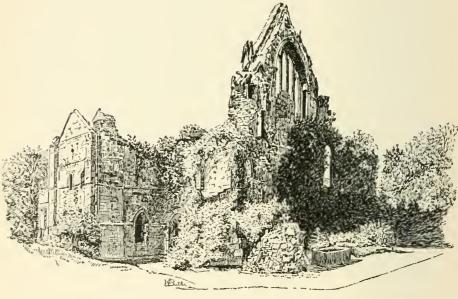
The south transept end is solid and uninteresting in its lower regions, but in the gable is a fine window of first pointed style filled with plain tracery of later date. Its sill is raised by steps toward the centre to accommodate the steep ridge of the dormitory roof without. A winding stairway in the east corner of the transept led from the church to the upper story of the cloister buildings.

At the west end we find only a heavy wall of one story with the main portal of the church, a round-headed opening adorned over its arch and along its jambs by rich mouldings embellished with rosettes. These unbroken mouldings with their

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little ornaments would assign the portal, though semicircular, to a comparatively late date.

In the south wall of the nave is another portal that led out to the cloisters. It is one of the gems of the buildings. Its



DRYBURGH: SOUTH TRANSEPT AND CHAPTER HOUSE. Point 1 on Plan.

broad round arch, from which most of the mouldings have been stripped, rests upon colonettes quite slender and very gracefully capped in early French style. One of the best views of the abbey is to be had through this doorway.

Adjacent to the south transept and reached by a descending flight of steps, is the sacristy, now closed, and used as a

## DRYBURGH

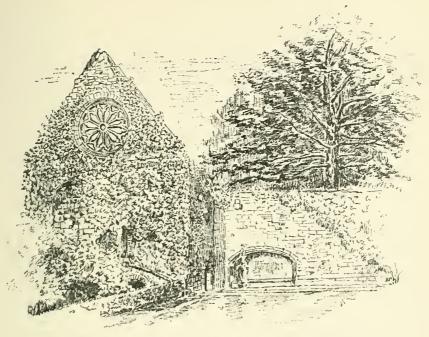
mortuary chamber. It is covered by a vault and is provided with a window of two coupled arches, surmounted by one in form of the *vesica pescis*. Next to this comes another vaulted



Point 3 on Plan.

chamber, the chapel of St. Modan, also converted into a tomb, and lighted like its neighbour by coupled round-arched windows to the east. Both apartments connected with the cloister by means of round-arched doorways; the latter with the chapter house, which extends several feet further to the east than the two chapels. The structure of these buildings, thus far, is quite purely Norman. In the chapter house we find a fine broad barrel vault, Norman arcades in the walls, Norman arch and windows upon the cloister, but early pointed openings at the end and in the side of the vault; broken through in after years when more light was sought. In the centre of the floor, a double circle marks the burial place of the founder of the abbey. The cloister was reached from the chapter house, and in fact from all these buildings, by a flight of steps, the level of the cloister being somewhat above that of the domestic buildings, and the level of the church higher still, showing that the abbey was built upon a gentle slope.

Next to the chapter house and connected with it by a curved passageway, is an oblong building, built in Norman style, but provided, apparently at a later period, with a set of vaults, to carry which two supports were placed on the central axis of the apartment and corbels set in the walls. The springing of these vaults is still visible. At the same time with the other improvements this room was fitted with large traceried windows and a commodious fireplace. A staircase led to the upper apartments. This building, which we shall call the fratry, opened upon the lower cloister court and upon the slype, which, with the adjoining half-ruined structure, are in the primitive Norman style.



A CORNER OF THE CLOISTER  $\rightarrow$  GABLE AND WINDOW OF REFECTORY. *Point* 4 on *Plan*.

The second story of all these buildings is pretty well preserved on the eastern side, where an interesting row of plain Norman windows between flat pilaster buttresses maintains the primitive style of the abbey. The upper story of the chapter house alone shows signs of having been remodelled.

Alongside the fratry wall another flight of steps leads from the cloister to the lower garth. The vaulted cellars of the refectory, the only building on the southern side of the court, manifest work of extremely crude character; but one of the features of the whole ruin is the great St. Catherine's wheel window in its tall western gable. It is plainly of early decorated style, is twelve feet in diameter, and retains its original tracery. A rich growth of ivy, covering the bareness of the ruined wall and gable, adds much to the effect of the wheel.

In the plain west wall of the cloister is a long niche that once contained the tomb of one of the early abbots. At the opposite end is the entrance to the supposed dungeons, where there is an arrangement in the wall for wedging in the hands of unruly monks or poaching laymen. Among the fragments of carving gathered in the chapter house and in a pile in the choir are an ancient font, remnants of an altar of great age, and a huge stone sarcophagus.

The history of the abbey of Dryburgh is almost coincident with that of its more powerful neighbour, Melrose. Their periods of prosperity were coeval; their misfortunes came at the same time, for their enemies were identical. Dryburgh is slightly younger than Melrose, having been founded in 1150—not by David I., strange to say, but by one of his powerful lords, Hugh de Moreville, Constable of Scotland. The saint-king, however, must be given credit for his share in building the abbey; for, once founded, it became the object of his pious liberality to such an extent that the real founder was long forgotten until the research of antiquaries discovered

DRYBURGH

him. The site chosen by the pious Hugh for his monument was one so old that history is lost in attempting to ascertain even an approximate date. This heavily wooded haugh, rising from the bank of the winding Tweed, was in the distant past a place of Druidical worship. The name *Darach Bruach* signifies in Celtic or Gaelic a grove sacred to that ancient religion. Besides a site of great antiquity, the abbey boasts a location which, for beauty, is not rivalled in the whole of Scotland.

> "And Dryburgh, where with chiming Tweed The lint-whites sing in chorus,"

says Wordsworth.

The river sweeps its majestic course on three sides of the abbey precinct, which is completely embowered in a splendid growth of ancient trees. Beside the abbey stand a number of grand old yew trees, which are known, from references to them in ancient documents as landmarks, to be almost as old as the abbey itself.

When the abbey had been founded, its patron sent to Alnwick for a chapter of White Friars of the Premonstratensian order. In 1150, on St. Martin's Day, the abbey was consecrated. Within twelve years the domestic buildings were completed; for in 1162 the pious founder was laid in a tomb in the chapter house beside his wife, Beatrix de Beauchamp.

Soon after the consecration of the abbey, the sacred relics of St. Moden, or Modan, were brought from his cell in Roseheath, where they had reposed since the sixth century. The church could not have been built at that period, for these bones were laid in a special chapel adjoining the chapter house, instead of in the sanctuary, the usual site of reliquaries. But within sixty years after the abbey's founding, during which the Norman style had been supplanted by the early pointed, the church itself was consecrated with great solemnity on another St. Martin's Day in the time of Abbot Girardus (1177-1184), under whose rule the abbey was granted special privileges by Pope Lucian III. The White Monks enjoyed tranquil prosperity for nearly two hundred years. When the war for independence broke out, this borderland abbey saved itself and its inmates by the act of Abbot William, who swore fidelity to Edward I. The king, however, took over the lands of the monastery in 1276.

Again the abbey was spared the invading hosts of England when Edward II., with his vast army, passed northward toward the capital. But one day in June the monks learned of the crushing defeat of this mighty host on Bannockburn field, and set their bells to ringing lustily for hours in jubilant exultation; but with the news of victory advanced the vanquished monarch, who turned the joy of the monks to grief by setting fire to their refectory. It was this part alone that perished in

#### DRYBURGH

the conflagration, as we see from the change of style that took place in this building, represented by the rich decorated window.

It is, of course, possible that the wooden roofs of the buildings were also consumed, but no other sign of destruction or restoration of this period can be found upon the surviving portions. During the years of peace that remained to the abbey its cloister became a favourite haunt of Ralph Strode, the philosopher, and of many other men of letters.

The abbey's great disaster fell in the year 1544, when Sir Ralph Evers was engaged in devastating all the cloistered haunts of Teviotdale. The demolition of this time undoubtedly left the abbey in the condition in which we see it to-day.

In 1832 the body of Sir Walter Scott was laid to rest beneath St. Mary's aisle, among the graves of his ancestors, the Haliburtons of Newmains, to whom the abbey once belonged. It seems as if these few vaults had been spared expressly for the reception of the hallowed remains of Scotland's favourite son.

# CHAPTER IX HADDINGTON PRIORY



CENTRAL CAPITAL FROM WEST PORTAL - HADDINGTON.

THE Eastern Lowlands, or East Lothian, comprising what are now known as the shires of Berwick and Haddington, were in the earlier days of Christianity in Britain the seat of a number of monastic institutions.

The proximity of the Holy Isle and the influence of several ancient Scottish missionaries, among whom St. Cuthbert and St. Aidan were most prominent, had wrought the evangelization of this wild and pagan coast as early as the seventh century. The Northumbrian Kingdom, unreached by the Roman-British mission of St. Augustine, we are told, was brought to the acceptance of Christian faith through Scottish agency in the person of St. Aidan, who came from the western isle of Iona, where St. Columba had set up his cross nearly a hundred years before. St. Cuthbert, whose faith was of the same source, made the Holy Isle, off the east coast of Berwick, the centre of a most extended bishopric; so that the early establishment of religious houses in this wilderness was the result of Columban rather than of Augustinian missions.

Most, if not all, of these early foundations perished under the hand of the Danes, whose torches, early in the ninth century, laid waste these first homes of struggling Christianity from the Thames to the Frith of Forth.

But the seed thus early sown was not wholly uprooted by Danish fury, although all visible signs of its existence had disappeared; for, as the more peaceful times of Malcolm Canmore appeared in the eleventh century, a fresh and vigorous growth began, which flourished richly under the protection and patronage of his pious progeny.

No vestige of monumental evidence remains of the earlier religious settlements; tradition points to a number of possible foundations. The name of St. Abb, which still survives in local nomenclature, is reminiscent of Ebba, who is said, after her miraculous escape from a Northumbrian prince who wished to marry her, to have established a convent, of which she was the first abbess, at Coldingham. The successors of Ebba, during the Danish invasion, are reported to have cut off their noses and lips in fear of violation, and to have been burned alive with their abbey when the relentless marauders came. The present remains at Coldingham are those of a Cistercian monastery established in 1098 upon the ruined foundations of St. Ebba's convent. A tragic discovery early in the present century lent credence to the story of the abbey's earlier foundation, when the skeleton of a woman was found in an upright position sealed up in the thickness of the ancient wall, telling perhaps of the penalty for broken vows paid by one of the sisterhood. This horrible form of punishment, which reminds one of the days of Roman Vestals and imperial persecutions, was visited upon the unfortunate Constance de Beverley, who left her cloister to become a horse-boy in the train of Lord Marmion, as the reader doubtless remembers from Scott's poem.

At North Berwick are the scant remains of another Cistercian convent also made famous by Sir Walter in "Marmion."

> ... "a venerable pile, Whose turrets viewed afar,The lofty Bass, the Lambie Isle, The ocean's peace or war."

Here it was that "St. Hilda's Abbess" from across the border was received by the venerable Scottish prioress.

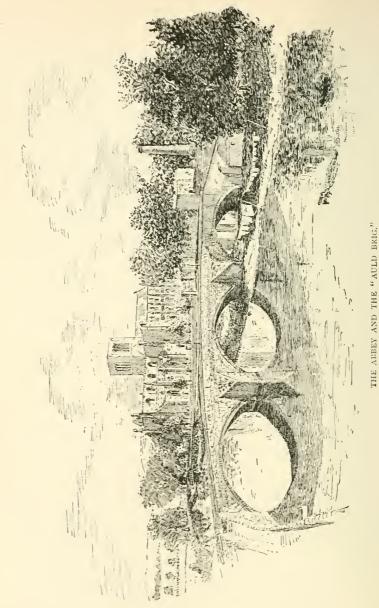
Abbey St. Bathan's is but a name, though we may believe that it is derived from a religious settlement long since lost in oblivion. These traditions and names relate probably to only a small fraction of the religious centres established in East Lothian during its earliest Christian period. The second or post-Norman era saw great and powerful institutions erected

upon many of these early sites, as we have seen above, and numerous new settlements were founded throughout the district.

During this second period of Christian influence, no place in the whole region was more famous as a religious centre than the town of Haddington. A "royal burgh," it possessed no less than two religious houses—a Franciscan monastery and a convent—besides several churches and chapels.

The town is beautifully situated in the fertile valley of the Tyne, just east of the lovely hills of Lammermuir. The river, bordered with willows and shaded by lofty, graceful elms, winds through one of the most fertile plains in the North Country, whose abundance of corn was famous even as far back as the time of Edward I. At the point where the river curves about the town, it is crossed by the "Auld Brig," which has withstood many inundations that have destroyed large portions of the burgh. The oldest of a number of inscriptions on the bridge at its eastern end reads, "Haidinton 1565," and an ancient iron hook projecting from one of the arches marks the place where the criminals of past centuries hung for their misdeeds.

Early in the twelfth century Haddington became the dower of Ada, Countess of Northumberland; and here her sons, Malcolm IV. and William I., spent their youth. William, later called "The Lion," made the town his most favoured residence, and his son Alexander II. was born in its castle.



It was created a royal burgh by David I., and remained a royal residence until about 1216, when, under King John of England, hostilities between the two countries began, which were to last for centuries. The town was at the time reduced to ashes, but was quickly rebuilt, the monastic portion with greater splendour than before.

Of the mediæval religious buildings which gave dignity to the town but one remains, and this, though ruined, is in comparatively good preservation. But so completely have all records of the monasteries disappeared — so absolutely have war and fire and sword effaced the memory of the buildings which stood near it — that it is impossible to identify this majestic ruin with any degree of certainty.

Dr. Barclay, writing in 1792, proved, to his own satisfaction at least, that the present church is the ancient Franciscan priory; this conclusion he reached by quotations of certain boundaries in old documents. Mr. Robb, who has recently written a guide to Haddington, takes issue with Dr. Barclay and brings evidence to show that the abbey buildings of the Franciscan monastery were situated some yards further down the river, *i.e.* to the north, and holds that the present structure has always been the parish church, as it is still called.

Mr. H. F. Kerr, in a paper published in the Transactions of the Edinburgh Architectural Association, concurs with Mr. Robb's views, while Macgibbon, in his new work upon the "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland," seems non-committal, though he calls the building the "parish church," which no one can deny it now is.

Without pursuing further the lines of proof so ably adduced by these authorities, let us look at the situation in a fair light, and then attempt to judge from a purely archæological standpoint the possible identity of our church.

If these more recent writers are correct, there stood at one time beside the Tyne, within a few yards of each other, two magnificent ecclesiastical edifices of nearly equal dimensions, the parish church and the church of the friars, both of which we know from various accounts to have been large and splendid structures.

The ancient chronicler Fordun records that Edward III., while invading Scotland in 1355, burned "the town, the monastery, and the sacred church of the Fratres Minores of Haddington, a costly and splendid building of wonderful beauty, whose choir, from its elegance and clearness of light, was commonly called the Lamp of Lothian or Friars' Kirk." And Patten, in his "Expedition to Scotland under the Conduct of the Earl of Hertford," remarks, in 1547: "We burnt a fine town of the Earl of Bothwell's, called Haddington, with a great nunnery and a house of friars." Mr. Robb cites both of these quotations, but does not call attention to the fact that the magnificent "parish church" is mentioned by neither of

these authorities, while both refer, apparently, to the convent in the Nungate and to the abbey.

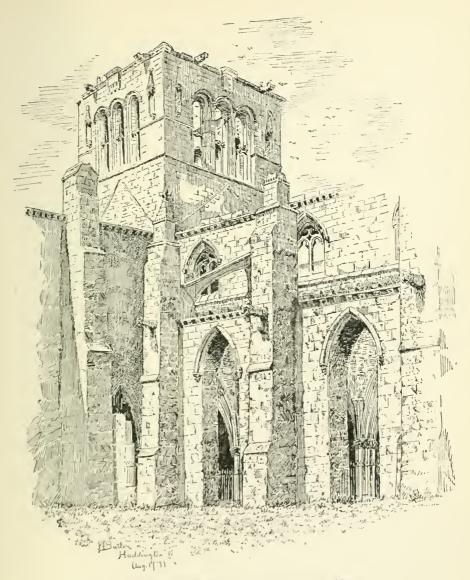
Beside a very unusual position in adjoining a large monastery, this parish church had the unusual features of a spacious choir (plan) of four bays, with side aisles and wellprojecting transepts, beside a three-aisled nave of five bays, and these long after the town had ceased to be a royal residence or of any great importance as compared with numerous other towns which could not boast of parish churches half as large. Could we reconcile the few yards of difference in location, would it not seem more practicable to combine the two supposed buildings and identify the commodious choir with the place of worship of the monks, and the present, later nave, with its predecessors (which must have been), with the parish church; as was the case with the naves of abbey churches the world over? But these are not my only reasons for believing St. Mary's Church to be a part of the ancient monastery. In the north side of the choir, in the third bay, there is a doorway which now leads into a mortuary chamber of recent date.

This doorway, round arched and small, is in all respects like those of other abbeys which lead into the sacristy or connect with the monastic buildings. High up on the exterior surface of the remaining walls of the north transept are the unmistakable marks of gable roofs and other evidences of buildings once attached. The northern and western walls of

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this transept are entirely wanting, but I believe that if they were in existence they could prove conclusively that they were connected with the domestic edifices of a great monastery. The buildings of the monastery we know were destroyed by Edward I., *circa* 1292, while the abbey church was spared. With a cloister court and domestic buildings about it to the north, and perhaps a smaller close beyond this, which was of frequent occurrence, it is not difficult to carry the boundaries of the abbey to the points identified as the "*friers croft*" and "*friers gowl*," which seem to be the chief landmarks of the monastery.

The most picturesque and characteristic view of the abbey is to be had from the old bridge, itself some five hundred years old, that leads over to that portion of the town called the Nungate. From here the whole height of the tower is seen above the graceful ruins of the choir, while the nave, with its poor fifteenth-century work and awkward modern restorations, is suppressed into the background by the projecting arm of the broken transept and the clustering trees of the friar's croft. There were few towers like this in Scotland in the days of its glory, nor many of the transitional style in Great Britain that could surpass it for grace of proportion or elegance of design. What its crowning feature was, whether spire or battlement, we do not know, but we at least may hope it was not, as has been suggested, a crown like that which



THE TOWER AND CHOIR. From Point 4 on Plan.

makes St. Giles in Edinburgh, if not beautiful, conspicuous among the churches of the Kingdom.

The choir needs closer inspection; but the tower and choir, rising out of the water of Tyne, set among the soft green of luxuriant trees, all against the changing slopes of the distant Lammermuirs, have a site of rare beauty, dignified and commanding, yet low and protected.

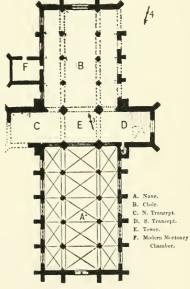
From the bridge we walk along the "Sands," or Butts, where archery was practised by the royal bowmen in pregunpowder times, to the north gate of the kirkyard; from this point the dignity of the choir is well appreciated, but the modern chapel hides much of its beauty. Making our way among the graves past the east end of the choir we turn, and have as good a view as can be had of the ruin; the well-proportioned outer buttresses, with one broken and two perfect transitional pinnacles, and with their gargoyle water conduits intact; the south aisle wall, completely destroyed in the eastern and western bays, but preserving in two mid-bays pointed windows broken down to the ground, but with their carved hood mouldings perfectly preserved, while through the windows we see the clustered shafts and pointed arches of the main arcade. Above this wall the sole surviving original flying buttress describes a free curve to the clerestory wall. This arch is of simple form, well weighted at the back, and must be of the best period. The windows of the clerestory are of

pointed form, well proportioned, with well-carved hood moulds, and contain a simple design of decorated tracery, which, from its depth and the richness of its mouldings, cannot be earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century nor later than the beginning of the fourteenth.

The corbel table which adorns the top of both walls is of fourteenth or even fifteenth century design, and marks a change of roofing probably necessitated by fire.

The plan of the interior comprises a three-aisled choir of four bays, broad aisleless transepts, and a nave of five bays with three aisles. The choir was vaulted throughout, as were the transepts, and as is the much-restored nave.

The broad pointed arches of the choir are richly moulded, and are



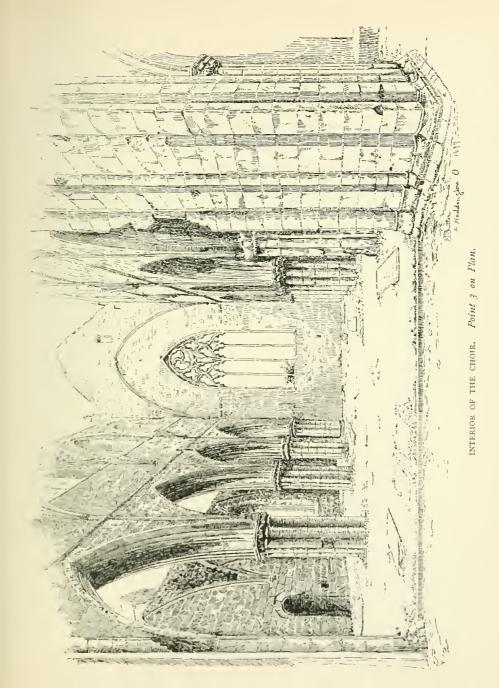
PLAN OF THE ABBEY OF HAD-DINGTON.

supported by clusters of eight graceful shafts bearing capitals of the best English Gothic design and most beautiful workmanship. It must be said that the capitals of the two easternmost piers are of the plain moulded type of the Early English period, that those of another are restored, and that the carving just spoken of may be somewhat later than the construction. The colouring of the interior is a soft reddish brown, blackened in some places by the smoke of long-past fires. The graceful clustered piers and richly carved pointed arches cast deep shadows over a floor of nature's green, broken here and there by the white of a marble tomb-slab. Among these we note with interest the grave of Jane Welch, the wife of Carlyle, whose lines to her memory we read upon the stone:—

"In her bright existence she had more sorrows than are common, but also a soft invincibility and a noble loyalty of heart which are rare. For forty years she was the true and ever loving helpmate of her husband and by act and word unweariedly forwarded him, as none else could, in all of worthy that he did or attempted. She died at London, 21 April, 1866, suddenly snatched away from him and the light of his life as if gone out."

Poor Jane Carlyle after a hard life at last found repose with her parents, far away in the North, in the abbey of the town where she was born, about whose crumbling ruins she had played as a little child and where she had received the homage of two of the greatest men of her time, Edward Irving and Thomas Carlyle.

The side-aisle walls seem not to have had responds opposite the piers, but bear corbels which still support the remains of vault ribs. The windows in the north wall still preserve their original form and tracery, which may be assigned to the same date as that of the clerestory. The tracery of the east window is modern, but a restoration, they say, from original



fragments: it is of fine flowing character. There is no triforium gallery, the blank space between the triforium string and that of the clerestory being the only ungothic feature of the choir, and is suggestive of German and Italian interiors of the same period. Three clustered vaulting shafts are carried up from bases resting upon the main capitals to support the ribs of the main vaults; their capitals are moulded but very flowing to receive the loads. The wall ribs of all the high vaults are still to be seen, embracing the windows and above the great east window. These vaults must have been very fine and of truly Gothic character, as their plan of construction shows. It has been necessary in precaution to brace the high walls by means of iron girders, which now span the main aisle, but I did not deem it important to reproduce these in the drawing.

The supports of the tower are very massive, composed of shafts separated by pilasters of rectangular section and grouped about a pier of great diameter.

The transept is of equal depth with the tower, and, so far as it is preserved, presents high walls unbroken to the east. The south end has a low door surmounted by a lofty window, but these are restorations of modern date. High up on the walls may be seen the corbels which supported high vaults of considerable span, three compartments over each arm of the transept. The tower and transepts are unmistakably the oldest part of the building. These, with the choir, are undoubtedly portions of the church which Edward I. saw and spared in 1292, and are the veritable "Lucerna Laudoniæ" of Fordun, which Edward III. burned, together with the town, in 1355. This conflagration consumed probably the wooden roofs and movables of the church, sparing the lower portions, as often happened in the case of vaulted buildings. An older nave, or one contemporaneous with the choir, may have been so seriously damaged at this time that it was found necessary to remove it, for the present nave is of a date subsequent to Edward III.'s invasion.

Only one small portion of this nave, which is of a very poor period, and made worse by alterations and restorations in recent years, need be mentioned here; that is the western portal, which may easily be believed to have belonged to a structure of the best Gothic period. It consists of a broad semicircular arch, deeply recessed and richly moulded, embracing two sub-arches of similar form, supported at their juncture by a slender cluster of colonettes, the compound capital of which is shown in the initial sketch. The round arch obtained in Scotland during all periods, but the richness and delicacy of the sculptured mouldings, and especially of the capital, which is an elaborate foliate design with a shield bearing a composite representation of the Passion, the pierced heart, the hands and feet, the nails, all interwoven with the crown of thorns, are specimens of exquisite workmanship of the best period. It is possible that this little bit of sculpture may aid in the final identification of the church, for symbolism is so rare in Scottish sculpture that its occurrence must have meaning.

The heart, hands, and feet are symbolical of the "five wounds," a characteristic symbol in the blazonry of the Franciscan order, and never used, so far as I am able to discover, by other orders or by the church at large. Various instances of its use may be found in the "Life of St. Francis of Assisi" (E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, Paris, 1885), the most striking example, perhaps, being that at the bottom of Plate XIX., where the resemblance to our shield is most patent, the only difference being that in the latter the crown of thorns is introduced to give sculptural character and to blend the design with the foliage treatment of the capital. May it not be that the key to the abbey's mystery is, after all, veritably in the front portal?

If we follow the path through the churchyard to the gate by which we entered, cross the bridge, and follow the river for half or three quarters of a mile, we shall come to the meagre remains of the convent which Countess Ada of Northumberland, mother of Malcolm IV. and William "the Lion," founded in 1178. Little is known of its history except that in 1292 the Abbess Alicia did homage to Edward I. for herself and her

followers, and that this act was repeated by the Abbess Eva four years later. Thus twice the nunnery was spared the violence of the English armies.

In 1338 occurred the most terrible flood recorded of the Tyne. The fields for miles along its course were devastated. Villages were swept away and a large portion of the town of Haddington was inundated and the convent was threatened with destruction. The story is told that the abbess, taking the statue of the Blessed Virgin from above its altar, and followed by the nuns in solemn procession, marched to the edge of the swelling flood, which thereupon turned aside and began at once to abate.

The convent seems to have flourished until the early beginnings of the Reformation, when it was gradually suppressed.

The buildings were all destroyed later, and almost no trace of them remains.

# CHAPTER X

## ARBROATH



ARBROATH FROM THE SOUTHEAST.

As one sails along the northern shore of St. Andrew's Bay he may see, towering against the dull gray sky, the jagged outline of a mighty ruin mounted upon a bold headland, with the sea breaking in a long, white

line upon the rocks at its base. The walls, ragged and broken, tell us that a once mighty edifice has been wholly demolished. Yet most conspicuous, even from so distant a point of view, is a tall pointed gable preserving intact a large circular window. The effect of this lofty bit of work, defying the touch of time and weather, above the shattered mass below, is striking indeed.

The ruin is pointed out as that of the great abbey of Aberbrothic, one of the most powerful monasteries in the North during the later Middle Ages. A nearer view of the ruin re-

veals, even to a further degree, the complete dilapidation of the whole fabric. The material, unlike that employed at Melrose, is soft and crumbling. The bleak winds and storms of that desolate coast through the centuries have wrought havoc with the yielding stones. Huge blocks—four square, not one left upon another—lie scattered about, with fragments of columns, broken capitals, and arches rent asunder.

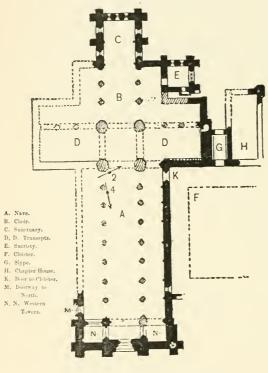
It is not difficult for the imagination to restore upon the far-extending ground plan, marked by little hillocks of mouldering masonry, an imposing mediæval monastery, with its towers, its chapter house, its cloisters, all surrounded by flourishing gardens, verdant fields, and wooded parks; but how sad is the contrast when we return to the Arbroath monastery of to-day, unable to offer shelter even to the rooks, shorn of its beauty, its lands barren and desolate. On all sides press the awkward structures of a manufacturing seaport town. Countless chimneys belch forth volumes of smoke that have streaked and blackened the grand old remnant of mediævalism. The architecture displayed in the remnants of the church is, almost universally, in pointed style, bearing strong traces of the transition and a few marks of the still older Norman period. There are almost no remains of decorated or the later pointed styles, so that the church edifice at least must have been pretty nearly of a single epoch, and that the earliest type of pointed style in the North.



ARBROATH: WEST PORTAL. Colonettes restored.

The main portal is the most ancient part preserved to us, and this, though distinctly Norman in form, is well infused with Gothic spirit in its ornament and in the lightness of its composition. The arch is round, low, and broad; deeply recessed, and ornamented with a succession of mingled Norman and Gothic mouldings, supported on either side by ranks of slender colonettes whose capitals are simple moulded bands. Above the portal runs a gallery of two rows of columns opening within the church in a pointed arcade; the gallery is not vaulted, a simple entablature being supported by the inner row of columns, which are curious polygonal shafts. This work is quite unlike anything else in the range of Gothic art in Great Britain. The walls within present no very striking features; some of the apertures are large, but bear no remnant of tracery. The circular western window, a fragment of which remains, was one of the largest in the Kingdom.

The ground plan of the church indicates an edifice of great size and elaborate parts, a long nave of nine bays having side aisles, the first bay of each being beneath one of the great western towers which flanked the main portal. Broad transepts, with an eastern aisle, reached to north and south, and a huge central tower rose high above the crossing; to the east lay a spacious choir of three bays, which was carried on in an aisleless sanctuary of two bays terminating in a flat end in the manner of Early English churches. In comparatively later years the angle between the choir and south transept was filled with a structure that doubtless served as a sacristy. To the south of the transept lay the



PLAN OF ARBROATH ABBEY.

monastic buildings, of which few traces remain, and the cloister garth spread out beside the nave. To the west of the abbey a large group of buildings grew up in the later years of the abbey's history. These were the abbot's house civic and numerous buildings which were the result of the abbey's connection with the affairs of state through the worldly interests of its later superiors. We shall confine our interest

to the more truly monastic portions of the abbey, however, and content ourselves with the magnificent ruin of the church itself.

On the extensive ground plan, above described, there

remains standing, of the nave, goodly portions of the western towers, with the portal, a single bay of the nave (the northern tower bay), and a doorway in the north wall adjoining the tower, the long wall of the south aisle with its high pointed windows, two doorways, and the corbels and wall ribs of the aisle vaults, and the two long lines of main pier bases. At the transepts the huge bases of the tower piers are to be seen, and the foundations of the north transept wall have been discovered. The south transept is complete but for its east wall, and is a splendid specimen of transitional work. On the ground level a blind arcade of narrow cusped arches with slender colonettes adorns the south and west walls of the transept, and a narrow low doorway opens upon a stair leading to the upper passages of the church. Above this a second arcade of delicate lancet points, supported by colonettes, is carried across the end wall. The west wall is plain at this level, but above it the entire expanse to a height of sixty feet is filled with two narrow, round-headed windows, one of them somewhat destroyed. Across the end wall, above the two blind arcades and still below the triforium level, runs a fine open arcade of slender round arches with a passage behind. Then come two fine, tall, pointed windows below the "round O" which is so characteristic a feature of the abbey as seen from a distance.

Of the choir little is left excepting the remains of bases, but a considerable portion of the sanctuary has been spared;

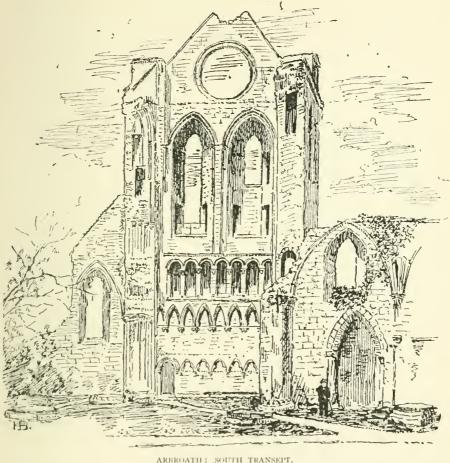
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the east end with a fine wall arcade and two stories of three lancet windows, well proportioned and richly, though not lavishly, decorated. The upper story has disappeared; it is conjectured to have been of the St. Catherine type, with great wheel window. The site of the high altar is easily traced in the east end, and, before it, the sunken chamber that originally contained the body of the founder.

The exterior buttresses of the sanctuary are of excellent early design. The sacristy, reached by an interesting pointed doorway in the easternmost bay of the choir, is a fine vaulted structure of the early fifteenth century. An elegant areade adorns the walls on the ground level. The windows in the eastern wall are two grouped lancets, but that to the south is filled with mullions and tracery of the decorated pattern. Various small carvings in this apartment are worthy of study. Above the broad four-celled vault was another apartment which is now roofless, but otherwise pretty well preserved.

The abbey connected with the cloister only by the doorways in the nave. Adjoining the transept is a diminutive slype, and, beyond this, fragments of the chapter house; an octagonal turret marks the southeast angle of this building, and is sufficient to show that the style here corresponded to that of the church edifice.

Fragments of the upper stories of the main body of the nave and choir, preserved in the tower bay and in responds



From Point 2 on Plan.

at other points in the ruins, show that the main arcade, some thirty feet high, consisted of fine groups of slender columns with richly moulded arches. The triforium was a fully developed gallery, a broad round arch over each of the main arches embracing a sub-order of two pointed arches resting on a slender colonette. The clerestory was exceedingly lofty and carried the nave wall to an unprecedented height. The capitals throughout seem to have been of the plain moulded type, though a respond in the south transept shows rich foliate carving. The great wheel windows were probably never traceried, but filled with glass in leaded designs supported upon bars of iron.

Very few of the records of this abbey have been preserved, and it is only an approximation that we can reach with regard to the dates of its various parts. In a great art centre, in France or in England, it is a comparatively easy matter to determine the date of a piece of architectural work by a comparison of its style, its composition, and the general character of the workmanship with those of neighbouring monuments whose dates are known. This rule is not infallible, but may, in general, be depended upon. In a remote corner of the world a very different condition presents itself; architectural changes travelled slowly. This is plainly demonstrated in some of the cathedrals of England. Were not the massive walls of Peterborough still building while the light and graceful piers and arches of Paris and Laon were soaring on the other side of the channel? So that although the early parts of Arbroath are Norman in tendency, and the later parts strongly transi-

tional, we must believe that neither are coeval with the corresponding periods in France or even in England, but some years later, after the English Gothic was well established over the border.

About the founding of this monastery, history comes to our aid. Here is an abbey with which St. David had nothing whatever to do; he had long been dead and buried when its corner stone was laid. The honour of this distinction is ascribed to William the Lion King of Scotland, in 1178. William had suffered many indignities at the hands of Henry II. of England, while endeavouring to recover the lost Scottish territory of Northumberland, and had been held a prisoner in Normandy by the English king for nearly two years.

The Scottish king knew of only one man who had set the English monarch at naught, had triumphed, even after death, over his (William's) bitterest enemy. This man had been canonized just five years before, and to St. Thomas à Becket William resolved to dedicate his church, a Scottish monastery sacred to an English saint. Thus the great abbey of Aberbrothic was, in all probability, one of the first establishments to bear the name of the martyr of Canterbury.

The first abbot, who came hither with his little band from Kelso, was Reginald; under Reginald and his successors, Henry, Radolphus, and Gilbert, work on the abbey was pushed with all haste; the king made frequent visits to the abbey, so

Holinshed tells us, and urged the overseers and masters of the works to spare no cost but to carry out the work to perfection and in magnificence. In 1214 the king died and was laid in a superb tomb within the choir. A part of the effigy that represented the king upon this gorgeous shrine is still to be seen among the relics in the sacristy. It is finely executed in hard fossiliferous marble and bears a most striking resemblance to the effigy of Richard Cœur de Lion in the cathedral of Rouen. The pose and arrangement of the drapery over the armour are very similar to the Rouen figure, but the most striking similarity is in the little figures of knights which, lizard-like, are represented crawling over the huge recumbent form of the king. A glance will satisfy the archæologist that this sculpture is not a product of a native talent nor an importation from England, but a work of the best French art of the day.

A few years after, the transept was near enough to completion to receive the body of Gilchrist, Earl of Angus, whose tomb was erected in St. Catherine's aisle.

Under Abbot Ralph de Lamley, in 1233, almost sixty years after the foundation stones were laid, the abbey was brought to completion and was consecrated, as a whole, with great ceremony in the presence of the founder's son, the "Peaceful" Alexander.

From this time the abbey of Arbroath became preëminent

in the North. The number of clergy was greatly increased and the services of the abbey were conducted with the greatest pomp and magnificence. The abbey was appointed guardian of the *Brechernach*, the sacred banner of great St. Columba, a much-coveted honour. The abbots fostered and encouraged commerce and at night kept the sanctuary a blaze of light for the benefit of mariners.

The abbots were almost always men of distinction and extended influence. Abbot Henry, appointed in 1288, one of the most brilliant figures of his time, was chosen to represent the Estates of Scotland before Edward I. Abbot John was seized by the English monarch and carried a prisoner to England because he refused to take the oath of fealty. In 1311 an ex-chancellor of the realm was mitred and placed in the abbot's chair, Bernard de Linton, the staunch friend and powerful minister of King Robert Bruce. Abbot Bernard bore the famous Brechernach into the battle of Bannockburn, and remained throughout the battle near his sovereign. In 1320 he drew up the notable remonstrance against Edward II. and presented it to the Pope, John XXII. He sat in the memorable parliament which met within the abbey's walls, when the Barons and Estates of Scotland confirmed the independence of the Kingdom, and died in 1328.

Abbot John Gedy held the office for twenty-five years after his election in 1370. During his long rule this abbot built a

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fine harbour and placed a bell on the famous Inchcape Rock, as has been told by Southey. This bell, for the guidance of seamen, was cut adrift by a notorious pirate, who was himself shortly after wrecked upon that dangerous shoal. About this time the abbey suffered from a frightful conflagration, the result of lightning, when all the roofs were destroyed. The poor monks were driven to seek shelter where they could find it until their own was restored. In 1411 Walter Paniter came to the abbacy. This abbot, another fighting prelate, took active part in the famous battle between the Lindsays and Ogilvies at Arbroath in 1445. He took sides with the Lindsays and aided in the slaughter of some three hundred of the Ogilvies. During his long term of office, Abbot Walter undertook extensive building operations, of which the sacristy, bearing his arms in the capitals and keystones, is a fine example.

After his successor, Robert Alexander, came Richard Guthrie, who was succeeded upon resignation by Malcolm Brydy. This abbot seems to have had a faculty for interfering with the affairs of other people. He began by making public charges against the rule of his predecessor, accusing him of carelessness and sloth. About this time it was the custom of the Bishop of St. Andrews to pay visits to this and other wealthy abbeys with a gorgeous train of over two hundred horsemen. The splendour of the equipage, "the stir of jewelled mantle and of golden spur," awoke the envy or suspicion of Abbot

Malcolm, and he complained of the prodigality of the worthy bishop. But this meddling seems not to have pleased the abbot's superior, for he soon found himself unmitted and in the "Bottle Dungeon" of St. Andrews, and Richard, his predecessor, ruled in his stead. A later incumbent was James, Duke of Ross, brother of King James IV., who drew revenues from St. Andrews, Holyrood, and Dunfermline as well, without ever performing an ecclesiastical function. The next soldier prelate was Abbot Hepburn, who fell on the bloody field of Flodden beside his father;

> "Earl Adam Hepburn,—he who died On Flodden, by his sovereign's side."

Next came James Beaton, who left the Metropolitan See of Glasgow for the richer emoluments of a simple abbacy at Arbroath. Abbot James resigned in favour of his famous nephew, David, the splendid, the sumptuous, the favourite of King James V., the most exquisite courtier of the realm, who became abbot at the age of twenty-nine, whose deeds of daring, whose statecraft, whose amours are well known in the history of those troublous years.

> "When like a lone star o'er the sea, Rose his lovely Mary Ögilvie."

Abbot David, elevated to a cardinalate by Pope Paul III., appointed Archbishop of St. Andrews and primate of all Scotland, ambassador to the court of Francis I., where he negotiated the marriage of James V. with Magdalen, daughter of Francis, and the second marriage with Mary of Guise, the violent persecutor, who burned Wishart at the stake, was cut down at the zenith of his power by the hand of an assassin in his castle at St. Andrews. Abbot David Beaton was the last of the important superiors of Aberbrothic.

The abbey does not seem to have suffered violence at any time during its history, and it was singularly spared by the Reformers. But as the abbacy became a temporal lordship and its revenues went to fill private lay coffers, there were no funds to be expended upon the abbey and it simply fell through neglect and decay.

In the heart of a flourishing city so great a supply of building materials was too great a temptation to the burghers, who pulled it down, stone by stone, until comparatively recent historical interest checked the ravages of peaceful plunder.

I cannot close without a reference to the aged keeper of the abbey, G. W. Donald, who is one of those delightful spirits that lives for one all-engrossing object—the poems, songs, and other writings of this old gentleman, devoted principally to the subject of his care, are well known in Scotland.

My conversation with him was of peculiar interest to me; for hearing that I was from America, he asked if I had ever been in "Princetoon." When I told him that I had spent

four of my happiest years in that place, his interest warmed at once, and he told me how my dear old president, Dr. McCosh, had preached his first sermon in the parish church of Arbroath, the direct successor of the abbey. He recounted how the sermon had differed from that of the usual preachers, how the "auld wives" criticised it, and how it appealed to the younger generation and to him. Dr. McCosh, it seems, was for some years pastor of this historic old town.



ARBROATH: NAVE, LOOKING WEST. From Point 4 on Plan.

# CHAPTER XI

## KINLOSS - BEAULY

It is a refreshing yet inexplicable fact that sometimes nearest to the habitation of men we find the most secluded spots. How delightful it is to turn aside from the noise and dust of the streets of our workaday world and after a few steps find ourselves alone amid the restful scenes of untamed nature.

A few hours of travel from the American metropolis will bring one into the solitude of primeval forests, while a small number of miles of railroad from London carry the traveller to a country as wild as when the conquering Cæsar first laid eyes upon it, where he may find subjects of her Majesty who neither understand nor speak the English tongue.

One has but to seek the north country and to journey a few hours beyond Inverness into the shires of Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland or Caithness, to find himself as far removed from the "scenes and motion of the living world" as in Syrian desert or Canadian forest. These shires are, of course, dotted over with the shooting-boxes of a few gentlemen, but their wild retreats are practically unknown to the English people at large.

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Not long ago I crossed the Pentland Firth for a short sojourn among the northern islands. At Kirkwall, in the register of its one little hotel, I was able to look over, in a few minutes, the names of all the visitors to the Orkneys for the last twenty years. Pursuing my way still further north to the Shetlands, I found that mine host at Lerwick had the names of all who had penetrated thus far during the last ten years at his tongue's end. And these groups of islands so easily within reach are as enchanting as can be imagined, whether we look for natural scenery, quaint and interesting people, or a simple change of surroundings.

Man is singularly lacking in originality, but no more in any rôle than as a tourist. With the middle of summer it seems as if all England sought the Highlands for a longer or shorter visit. Thousands of Americans flock thither from home and from the Continent; we travel upon crowded coaches, are packed like sardines in miniature hotels; we overcrowd the Clyde steamers until they seem like Thames excursion boats or the "Hudson River by daylight," — yet turn aside a mile from the beaten path and you will be lost in impenetrable thicket, and the natives regard you as a "freak"; but you will find far rarer views, more charming nooks, and even more beautiful monuments of bygone days than any of those that are well known to every one.

Inverness is the tourist centre for the North. Elgin is a large city visited yearly by many hundreds of travellers, yet

how many tourists have seen the lovely little abbey of Beauly only ten miles from Inverness, or have even heard the name of Kinloss or Pluscarden, two charming and most interesting ruined abbeys near Elgin. One may say that comparatively few people are particularly interested in the ruins of mediæval monasticism, and yet how many of the thousands who visit Melrose yearly are not profoundly impressed by that stately ruined pile, even those who are not easily moved to admiration. Melrose is not so much more lovely than a number of other abbeys. Is it possible that the few lines of Scott and Lockhart can have made so great a difference? Is it solely literary fame that gives this ruin its charm, or is it true that Melrose is loved and admired only because that is the "thing" to do? I believe that other ruined abbeys are slighted because people feel that they have not the time to explore for themselves the more secluded paths of the North Country. They depend upon guide-books that give three pages to Melrose and three lines to Pluscarden, and are only waiting to be shown the loveliness of unknown spots. There is no reason why many of Scotland's ruined abbeys should not be well known and loved; not all equally, of course, but each for its peculiar charm, for their variety is unending in site, style, and historical associations.

The abbeys of the far north cannot boast the antiquity of many of those in the centre and south, though Iona's misKINLOSS - BEAULY

sionary monks had built their cells along the shores of Moray Firth at a very early period. Malcolm II., while waging war against the Danes in Banff in 1010, vowed, by way of thankoffering if victorious, to extend the chapel of St. Moloch by three spear lengths. This would indicate a well-established religious *seat*, and there are other records of Christian activity very early in this region.

But this was a turbulent borderland to the Scottish Kingdom for many centuries, even more disturbed than the English border, for Caithness and Sutherland, and often Ross and Cromarty, were under the sway of the Norsemen, who had established their semi-piratic rule in the Orkneys at an early period. The establishment of extensive monastic institutions along this desolate coast could therefore scarcely be looked for until the strength of the Scottish realm should become more diffused, or at least until the Orcadian jarls had accepted Christianity.

Early in the twelfth century the conversion of the Orkneys began. Alexander "the fierce" and David I. had established undisputed sway beyond the Grampians, and the Church immediately reëstablished her footing upon that bleak northern shore.

The Cistercians were the first order after the hermits to penetrate the forest or to guide their tiny boats around bold Kinnaird's Head. In 1150 a little band of this order from Melrose, with the charter of David L, anchored within the shelter of Findhorn Bay, and in the same year laid the foundations of the abbey of Kinloss, not far from this shallow but well-protected harbour. During the three years that remained to the king, he made large and frequent gifts to the abbey; and soon a stately edifice in the late Norman style stood as the pioneer of monasteries on the Moray Firth.

To-day, as one journeys by rail from Aberdeen to Inverness, he may see, not far from the railway and between it and the sea, a few tall fragments of late Gothic work and some low arches of the earlier Norman. These are all that remain of the abbey of Kinloss, which existed in a singular state of preservation until the time of the Protectorate, when it was ruthlessly dismantled and torn down, its finely cut stone being removed to Inverness for the citadel of the greatest of modern vandals.

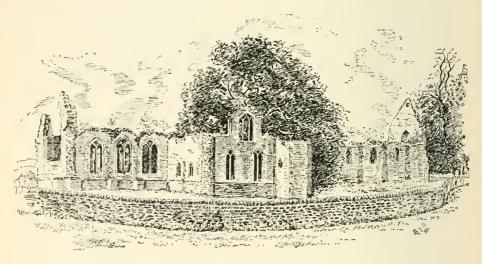
The abbey comprised a large cruciform church in the best style of the Early English, as we can discover from a few fragments of shafts and vault ribs which remain, and which must have been built within forty or fifty years after the foundations, a cloister court and monasterial buildings to the south, and an abbot's house and other structures to the north. The only portions of which any recognizable fragments were spared are the south transept and south wall of the choir, with low, vaulted buildings adjoining. The lines of the cloister are easily traced, and many heaps of carven stone lie among the graves of the churchyard. Nearly a hundred years passed before another brotherhood came to aid in the reclaiming of this wilderness. The second quarter of the thirteenth century had begun when Lord St. John Bissett of Lovat brought seven French monks from the monastery of Val des Choux in Burgundy to found a little priory on the secluded banks of the westernmost arm of the Moray Firth, — the river Beauly, — opposite his castle on the southern side of the river's mouth. Lord Lovat's castle has long since disappeared, but the church of his founding is still to be seen, roofless, but otherwise in a fine state of preservation. How the priory of Beauly, so near the sea, so easily reached from Inverness, escaped the rapacity of Cromwell's building craze is a mystery. The monastic buildings have completely disappeared, it is true, but the little church seems quite miraculously to have been spared.

At the end of the long, broad, well-kept street that forms the core of the hamlet of Beauly, in the midst of a group of grand old trees, surrounded by the graves of several centuries, stands Beauly's ancient priory, sheltered by an enormous elm that sprang up within its walls some hundreds of years ago, neglected, overgrown with grass and mosses, the burial place of the lords of Lovat and knights of the families of MacKenzie and Chisholm.

The abbey is not to be seen from the village, the great trees which cluster in the churchyard forming an effectual screen;

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but as one passes through the main street out toward the new church, where the view is superbly fine to north and east, he may see across the level down the whole north side of the ruin, with its simply traceried choir windows, its angle tower, and its dome of bright green foliage.



THE ABBEY FROM THE HIGHROAD.

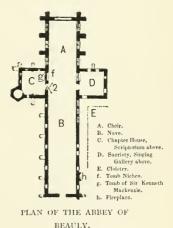
But we should enter by the churchyard gate if we can find the witchlike, half-blind dame who guards the key. The west front is one of the latest parts of the building. It is very simple and dignified for a fifteenth-century front, and consists only of an unpretentious pointed arched portal with rather heavily moulded arch and jambs, surmounted by a small trefoil niche. Above this a tall, well-proportioned window is

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carried up into the steep gable. The façade has lost its flanking buttresses and consequently gives the impression of being rather too narrow.

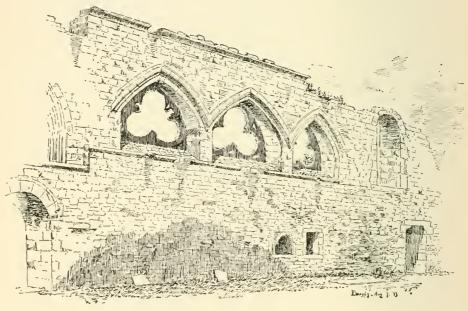
The plan of this church is totally different from that of any we have seen hitherto — a long aisleless nave and a choir

also without aisles, transepts which project well on either side but which are practically closed off from the choir and nave and answer the purpose of annexed monastic buildings, that to the north serving as the chapter house and scriptorium, and that to the south being the sacristy, its upper story opening the church as we shall see. The nave is of the plainest design, in a single story, and not so well built as the other



portions of the edifice, constructed as it is of small stones of different sizes and not well cut. On the north side is a range of small blunt-pointed windows of uniform shape and size. The opposite side is irregularly designed as to its openings, and bears evidence of frequent reconstructions. The sole interesting feature of this nave is a group of openings high up on the south wall adjoining the entrance to the sacristy. These three openings, which overlooked the roof of the cloister walk, are equilateral triangles, curvilinear on two sides, fitted with plates of geometrical tracery that bring the interior openings to trefoil form.

This group, so far as I have seen, is unique, and is certainly



WINDOWS IN SOUTH WALL OF NAVE. Point 2 on Plan.

very effective, and could be successfully reproduced in modern church architecture where high light-openings are required.

At the transept we come to the oldest part of the structure, doubtless coeval with the founding of the abbey; here again we find the expression of a certain originality. The

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main body of the church having no aisles, and the arms of the transept (for so we may term it) being approximately of the same width as the nave, the walls running parallel to the major and the minor axes are brought together so as to reënforce each other at four points, which are practically at the angles of a square over which was doubtless placed the great wooden tower (to be referred to later) at the juncture of the two sets of roofs, *i.e.* above the crossing.

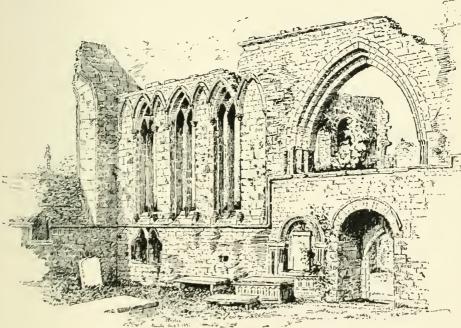
On the ground story the transepts are screened off from the church by a heavy wall pierced on either side with a round-arched doorway and window, the windows being provided with a thin curtain wall which forms a broad niche on either side of it. Above this, on the north side, the wall is plain, but on the other a broad pointed niche opens into the transept, which plainly had two stories, the upper story, opening thus into the church, being what was called a singing gallery. It is easy to find on either side of the arch and along the top of the wall the remains of a traceried balustrade which screened off the lower portion of the gallery.

The choir is in all respects the most successful portion of the edifice. A broad east window, totally ruined now, filled the space above the altar. On either hand are rows of graceful lancet-pointed windows, well spaced beneath a continuous arcade of mouldings once supported by exceedingly slender colonettes, the bases and moulded capitals of which are still in place. These windows seem to have been provided with very simple tracery at a later date, but this in no way impairs the simple beauty of the design. In the wall near the site of the high altar are the remains of a piscina and an ambry, which make the little sanctuary seem quite complete. Underfoot the grass grows long and rank, and a number of forgotten tombstones totter or lie half buried in the mould.

The chapter house, called in old records the "North Work," the only portion of the edifice that could boast a vaulted ceiling, appears to be slightly later than the choir, unless perhaps the tracery here also is a reconstruction. This structure, square in plan, was covered by vaulting in two oblong compartments. Narrow lancet windows provided the light, and an octagonal tower in one angle afforded access to the upper floor, which had a large window of the fifteenth-century form and tracery, and was fitted up as a *scriptorium* or library.

The opposite transept belongs again to the earliest period, but is of little interest. It is connected with the cloister, where we find traces of a roofed arcade and a fireplace against the church wall.

If we walk around the church, we cannot but be surprised to notice how little of the material has been pilfered during the lapse of centuries. The exterior buttresses, however, which naturally contained the finest pieces of cut stone, have disappeared entirely from the nave and chapter house and, as far as the base moulding, from the choir. I may have been mistaken, but I fancied I saw stones, that bore marks suspiciously like those of the Gothic chisel, in the neighbouring parish church.



BEAULY: CHOIR. From Point 3 on Plan.

The story of Beauly Priory is uneventful; one year after its dedication to St. John the Baptist by Lord Lovat, the priory's charter was confirmed by Pope Gregory XI. Scotland's wars with Norway and with England seem to have had little effect upon the placid life of the brothers, who were of the order of Valliscaulium, one of the strictest and most secluded sects in Europe after the revival in 1200. Generation after generation of monks for four hundred years became neophytes, lived their life of self-denial and penitential devotion within the priory's walls, and passed away, leaving no record of their existence but the clearings in the wilderness, the rich fields, and the various changes in architectural style that their church manifests. Little record is to be had of the successive priors until early in the fifteenth century, when Prior Hugh Frazer (1430-40) undertook to build the "north work," which refers to the chapter house and scriptorium. He was succeeded by his nephew Alexander, who built the great tower above the crossing and placed in it a peal of bells. Sixty years after Prior Alexander's death a terrible storm destroyed this tower and the bells, and caused the ruin of a goodly portion of the church, immediately after extensive improvements by Abbot Robert Reed, who was one of the most powerful and progressive of all Beauly's clergy. His nephew Walter in 1561 alienated the lands of the abbey, though they were afterwards restored to the Lovat family.

Of the quaint and curious monuments that the old priory contains within its crumbling walls, the most interesting is that of Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, in a niche in the chapter house. The effigy of the knight reclines in full armour under a canopy of rich sixteenth-century design, and an inscription tells of his brave deeds. The ogress guardian of the ruin tells how many knights were slain by the brave Kenneth and how many great ladies were the victims of his blandishments. This Mackenzie married a daughter of one of the Lords Lovat, and was the first of a large number of that name to find sepulture within the abbey's sacred precinct.

# CHAPTER XII

#### PLUSCARDEN



WE find the majority of Scottish abbeys in towns of moderate size, of which they are and long have been the dominating architectural feature. Others are clustered about with the cottages of small hamlets or are at most re-

moved only short distances from secular habitation; and these conditions have obtained in most cases from the earliest date of their history. A small number only seem to have been placed with reference to complete retirement and seclusion. This of course depended somewhat upon the order to which a monastery belonged; for the labours of the mendicant and preaching orders differed widely from those of the cloistered brotherhoods — the one sect sought the habitation of their fellows, while the other removed to desert fastnesses, there to subdue the wilderness, to till their fields, and pass their silent lives secure from temptation.

The wild wastes north of the Grampians offered ideal spots for the location of the more rigidly disciplined monasteries after

### PLUSCARDEN

the Danes and Orcadians had been subdued by Alexander the "Fierce." In 1230, the very year in which the priory at Beauly was established, another house of the same rare order was founded by King Alexander II., not many miles from the Cistercian abbey of Kinloss. The founders chose a site as far withdrawn from the world and its temptations as could well have been found at that day, yet one singularly beautiful and extremely fruitful. A verdant, peaceful valley some miles back from the coast, secure from storm and wind, sequestered between two almost parallel ranges of heather-tinted hills, the Eildons and the Kellas, watered by an ever full, fresh burn, and swept around by magnificent forests, was the spot chosen by the pious brethren for their new home, and they called it Pluscarden.

It is quite a pilgrimage to Pluscarden. The abbey is eight miles by road from Elgin and nine from Forres. The way is through a lovely countryside, and it is easily worth more trouble and many more miles of travel to receive the lovely impression of placid repose and of dignified beauty that this remote and stately ruin gives.

I was fortunate in having one of the loveliest of August days for my visit, and August can be wondrous fair in the 'north countree." A true pilgrimage it was too, for I was not so fortunate in my choice of a date. Arriving at Elgin early in the morning, I discovered that it was the chief holiday of that town. The people seemed to be having a general jubilee, and it was quite impossible for me to find any sort of a trap to carry me over the eight miles (so called — I think they are ten) that lay between me and the object of my quest. Therefore having made fruitless search for a beast that I could hire or borrow, I set out on foot with staff in hand and sketching block under arm, while crowded carts and four-wheeled vehicles full of holiday makers rumbled past me by the score.

For several miles I kept the highroad, then by the advice of a returning pilgrim I took the old road through the forest, in all probability the same that the monks used hundreds of years ago; the path, impassable now for any vehicle, leads along the foot of the mountain, which rises steep and rugged on the right. Grand trees meet overhead and tall, sweetsmelling ferns, waist high, wave on either side. In the brightness of early morning this path is dark with heavy shade and so still that one's own footfall seems to have an unhallowed sound. How meet a preparation for the mind of the pilgrim, in the days of old on penitential errand bent; how calm and sweet a prelude for us to the view that presently opens to us!

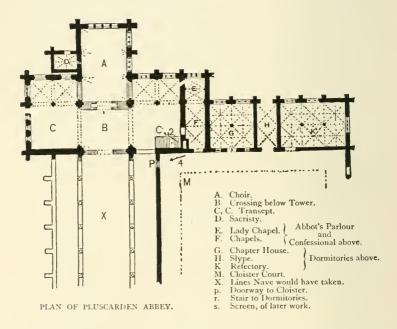
The path merges from the wood at a little height above a level stretch of soft, green, waving grain, beyond which, embowered in a cluster of glorious foliage, set high on an isolated knoll, rises the unbroken tower of the abbey, girt about with a high enclosing wall that marked the precinct of the monastery. On approaching the abbey, which must be done by a single gate near the lodge, we find it in the midst of a well-kept lawn



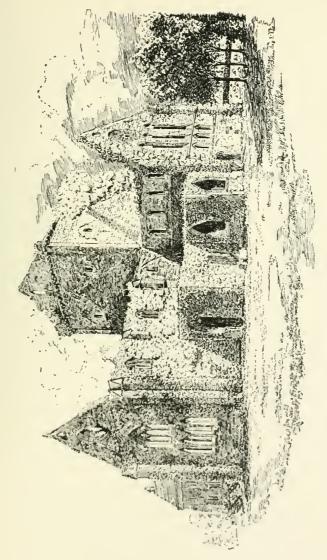
PLUSCARDEN ABBEV, FROM THE WOOD.

with closely trimmed shrubs and yew trees. To the west lies a fragrant flower garden with gravel walks and long hedgerows of box, and beyond this a fruit orchard stretches as far as the boundary wall. This air of thrift and comfort is quite a change after our lonely walk through the wild forest, and indicates that the ruin is part of a large and well-kept estate.

One is at once impressed with the remarkable state of preservation in which the abbey stands. The walls of choir and transept are intact, though roofless. Above them looms the



massive square tower of the crossing. The nave seems never to have been built, but to the south stretches a long line of monastic buildings, much restored, it is true, but never having been seriously injured. A sacristy, chapter house, and fratry, with a story of other apartments above them, complete the line



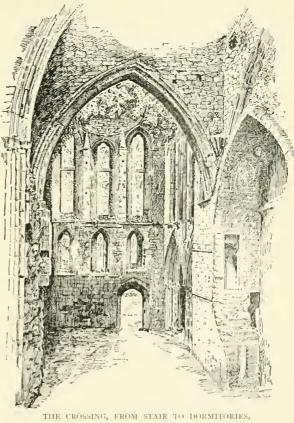
THE ABBEY, FROM THE NORTHEAST.

of the eastern side of the spacious cloister court. We observe that the greater part of these buildings, as well as the church, are of pretty nearly the same epoch. The dignified lines of the early pointed style are seen throughout the structures. We enter first at the crossing and find a broad transept, with an eastern aisle of two bays, to right and left. The piers and arches are plainly of early pointed design, though somewhat disfigured by the action of fire. In the southern part of the transept a curious combination of triforium and clerestory runs above the main story, an arcaded passage which at intervals is carried up to include the clerestory windows. At the north end of the transept the three stories are marked by two tiers of narrow lancet-pointed windows and a large circular opening; now walled up in the gable. On the ground story a low pointed doorway opens from the transept. The transept, taken from end to end, shows two different types of pointed openings, those in the north being usually cusped and single, the others plain and grouped in triplets by a broad, pointed, segmental arch; the latter seeming to be the earlier form and rather more like Early English design.

In the choir we find a considerably later looking form of pointed style. It is noticeable, at once, that a departure has been made from the original design; the plan is that of an aisleless sanctuary of three bays. And while the transept was apparently not built to be vaulted, we find in this part the very evident signs of vault structure. The original structure was extremely light, the window openings being very broad and

the spaces between very narrow. These large openings were subsequently made smaller by the insertion of thin walls at either side and a lower arch below the original.

Unmistakable joints of tracery are visible in the mouldings at the sides of the great windows, but over the transept aisle roof on the southern side of the choir, where the window was cut off just below the arch



Point 2 on Plan.

by the roof and appears in the form of an equilateral triangle, the whole expanse of the original traceried window is preserved with a fine trefoil pattern. The opposite triangular opening has been closed. At the east end the broad, high window was differently treated by filling in with a curtain wall pierced by a row of five lancets below a small traceried window. In the gable above appears the *vesica pescis*, still perfectly preserved; and still higher a trefoil enclosed in a triangle.

The tracery of all these altered windows is exceedingly weak in design and the mullions are flatly moulded, so that one does not hesitate for a moment to assign them to a poor and late period of northern Gothic.

The exterior of the transept shows the same strong characteristics as the interior and the same slight difference in style. Of the choir the shallow buttresses attract notice when we consider that this portion was vaulted, or at least intended to be, and the strengthening of the walls by narrowing the windows is perhaps explained in this way.

In the southern arm of the transept a straight stair leads to the upper apartments of the adjacent buildings, where were doubtless the dormitories, libraries, and the like. From the aisle leads a doorway to the Lady Chapel or St. Mary's aisle, vaulted, like the aisle of the transept, in early pointed manner. Next comes the slype, or passage connecting the cloister garth with the grounds to the east of the abbey. This is vaulted in two compartments in a style which at once may be classed as later than those of the chapels and transept aisle. To the same period belongs the vaulting of the chapter house, a fine example

#### PLUSCARDEN

of this class of structure, vaulted in four compartments supported at the walls on brackets and in the centre by a group of slender shafts. The mouldings of the door and windows in the cloister side of this structure are earlier than the vaults and central support, which must have been restored at a later period. The windows in the opposite side have been restored recently to match some of the grouped lancets of the earlier portions. Adjoining the chapter house is the refectory or fratry, which shows signs in its vault ribs and octagonal piers of being later than its neighbour. Here we have six vault compartments, necessitating two free-standing supports of the form just mentioned, into which the chamfered mouldings of the vault ribs disappear. The windows here, too, are of later addition and are not nearly so broad as the originals appear to have been; for the brethren of this northern clime wished as much sunlight as possible in their hall, while it lasted.

Over the sacristy is a small apartment called the abbot's parlour, with its little window looking to the east, and opening off from it a tiny vaulted cell, dimly lighted by a mere slit opening. The remainder of the second story was probably undivided by walls and roofed with timbers, and constituted the dormitory of the monastery.

We may now glance at the history of the abbey so far as it is known, and compare the epochs of its life with the periods of architecture represented in its frame. The establishment was founded, as we have seen, by Alexander II., who introduced the Franciscan, Dominican, and other new foreign orders into Scotland, about 1230. Immediately following the founding of the transept with its vaulted aisle, the sacristy and



the tower were built. To this period belongs also the charming round-arched doorway between the nave and cloister and a portion of the chapter house, which makes it pretty certain that the domestic buildings at least were completed during this first period, from, say, 1230 to 1260.

If any choir had been built during this

DOORWAY TO CLOISTER. Point 4 on Plan.

period, it was totally swept away when the domestic buildings and the roofs of the church were burned by the "Wolf of Badenoch" in 1390. It was in this year that the whole of Moray was devastated by a band of terrible marauders led by Alexander Stuart, son of Robert II., with the title of Earl of

#### PLUSCARDEN

Buchan. The town of Elgin was burned, the fields for miles around were laid waste, and religious institutions in all directions were devastated, their inmates often being put to the sword or consumed in the flames of their churches.

During eight years the abbey stood in partial ruin; for it was not until 1398 that one Alexander, a man of some wealth and wide influence, was elected to the prior's chair at Pluscarden, with the hope and expectation that he would place the "house" once more upon its feet. As was confidently expected, a new era of prosperity began for the abbey under the rule of Prior Alexander, and during the early years of the fourteenth century the settlement in the vale of Blackwater flourished with unprecedented success. Since the original founding of the monastery many changes had taken place in the development of the pointed style, and these we see embodied in the extensive building operations carried out by the new superior. The choir was at once rebuilt in a style far lighter and more airy than the earlier pointed; light vaults of wide span were planned for the choir and the crossing. The windows of the new portion, high and broad, were furnished with delicate designs of graceful tracery. The great expanse of glass which flooded the sanctuary with a blaze of light must have made the new portion seem more like a French edifice than one on British soil.

The chapter house and the frater-hall were restored in turn, on the old lines, in all probability, but in a style advanced perhaps a little beyond its prime. The dormitories were fitted up for a large number of resident monks, and apartments provided for strangers and wayfarers.

For himself the prior built the little parlour, referred to above, with its little cell or confessional, and from this apartment made an entrance to the roof of the transept aisle, which was made flat and provided with a balustrade like a balcony,—a cool and restful retreat in summer evenings after the arduous duties of the day.

The great square tower above the crossing, which extended but little above the ridges of the adjoining roofs, was provided with a crenellated battlement and trefoil windows on either side of the gables.

The broad lands of the abbey, which during the past years had fallen to neglect, were now tilled with the utmost skill. The vine, brought from the vineyards of Burgundy by the new brothers, was taught to grow upon the southern slopes of the Eildons. With plenty of fish from the burn, with bread and fruit from their vast fields and orchards, with wine vinted in the Burgundian fashion, the White Friars of Pluscarden had little to complain of in their peaceful valley in Moray. But their life became at last too sweet—idleness and plenty combined prepared the ground for tares, and within forty years after the death of Prior Alexander disorders were rife among the wearers of the white cowl. The right of inspection of the abbey had been accorded to the Bishop of Moray in 1355. Reports of irregularities in this secluded spot at length reached the ears of the powerful churchman, and he soon found opportunity to execute his privilege. After searching investigation had been made, the abbey was taken away from the order of Valliscaulium and turned over to the great monastery of Dunfermline, to become a cell of that greatest of Benedictine houses in the North. The sacristan of Dunfermline, John de Boys by name, was appointed prior of Pluscarden in 1460, and with a chapter of Black Friars installed in the abbey a new order of things was instituted at Pluscarden.

The new prior seems to have found the church already in need of repair; either neglect in recent years or bad design in Alexander's time had begun to tell upon the abbey, and the vaults of choir and crossing were threatening a fall. Work was at once begun to reënforce the walls of the choir, and the windows were reduced to the form and size now seen in a style characteristic of the middle of the fifteenth century in Scotland of the North, seen in the later portions of Elgin Cathedral and elsewhere. A heavy narrow arch was built up beneath the broad pointed arch that supports the eastern side of the tower separating the crossing from the choir, and the arches of the transept aisle were walled up so that the choir was made much darker and more shut in. The above theory for diminishing all the openings of the choir is that advanced by McGibbon and Ross, but another seems to me quite as tenable; it is that the Benedictines preferred greater seclusion and less light and therefore reduced the size of their windows; that their degrees of sanctity made a separation of worshippers necessary in a service, so that the thick wall and narrow arch beneath the east side of the tower were more on the order of a screen than a support. And this seems all the more credible when we consider that the other arches of the tower did not seem to require a prop.

This is the only one of the ruined abbeys of Scotland which preserves specimens of the painted decoration that must have enlivened the sombre walls of all of them to some degree. These traces of colour are plainly visible on the soffit of the low arch between choir and transept, and in the Lady Chapel.

Cordiner, who wrote after seeing these bits of painting over one hundred years ago, describes the scene on the arch, which is now visible only as a blue ground with gilt stars and some architectural features, as a representation of St. John with his eagle amid the conclave of heavenly bodies, while in the Lady Chapel he saw a variety of Scriptural scenes depicted on the vault and walls.

For one hundred and twenty years the abbey and its monks seem to have pursued the even tenor of their way. The last prior of the new order was Alexander Dunbar, who left his

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work upon the abbey building in the little vaulted vestry to the north of the choir, which is generally attributed to his time. It is in the late pre-Reformation style of Gothic, and exceedingly ill placed, extending as it does directly in front of one of the aisle windows of the transept and darkening that portion of the church. A ruined spiral stair would seem to have led to the roof of this structure. When the Reformation burst upon Scotland, the abbey of Pluscarden seems to have escaped notice; for the inmates were allowed to die off within its walls until after 1586, when one monk was still alive. The priory at length came into the possession of the noble house of Fife, and it is to the dowager countess, we understand, that the careful restorations upon the domestic buildings are due.

# CHAPTER XIII

# KILWINNING

THE western coast of Scotland, though nearest to the early fountain head of Scottish Christianity at Iona, was not the scene of so many nor so early religious settlements as the eastern and northern shores or the southern borderlands. The Highlands of the west were, in the earlier days, quite untamed and very thinly settled, nor did these rugged mountain sides offer the attractive sites for cloistered homes that were to be found in the rich valleys of Lothian and Moray. At a very early period, hermit monks from the Columban isle had fixed their cells among the mountain fastnesses which stretched from the Kyles of Bute to the Minch, and, through their labours, the Highland chiefs had become Christian, by profession, at least, though not always in practice, it might be added. By the middle of the thirteenth century, chapels, erected within the castles of the greater chieftains, began to be quite common, and we find such architectural evidence of religious life among the Highlanders in the chapels of the castles of Dunstaffnage and Rothesay. But to the south of the Frith of Clyde less

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forbidding natural conditions and more favourable surroundings invited the early establishment of conventual institutions, and at Paisley, Kilwinning, and Crosraguel we find ample remains of the monastic life that flourished in Ayrshire from the later Middle Ages until the Reformation. The planting of these religious houses along the southwestern coast was due in part to the missionary preparation of the Ayrshire soil by Columban monks and in part to direct Irish influence.

It was in the first decades of the eighth century, so religious tradition says, that St. Vinan, Vinnen, or Winnen established a cell on the banks of the Garnock. He was, doubtless, identical with St. Finnan of Moville, an historical Irish saint who set out to sow the seeds of Christianity in Caledonia. The site of his cell was held sacred and was, doubtless, the residence of one or more missionary monks for some four hundred years, until it was further sanctified by the founding of a great monastery in the last quarter of the twelfth century.

There seems to be much doubt, and there certainly has been a great deal of controversy, as to the founder of the abbey of Kilwinning; and the exact date of its founding is also obscure.

The crux seems to be not only between two historical personages, but between two distinct individualities which may be imputed to either. One belief is that Hugh de Morville, Lord Constable of Scotland, who founded the abbey of Dryburgh in 1150, was also founder of the abbey of Kilwinning. A second statement is, that not Hugh, but Richard de Morville, son or grandson of the Lord Constable, inheriting the pious predilections of his forbear, was founder and patron of this religious centre in the West.

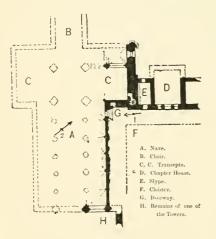
Pont agrees with neither of these views, and advances the startling theory that the founder of the abbey, bearing the name of Morwell, was neither the Constable Hugh, nor his descendant Richard, if such there was, but another Richard, who was no less than one of the murderers of Thomas à Becket, the saint of Canterbury. Pont goes on to say that this man, escaping from England, was received by the Scottish king and invested by him with lands and honours; he further adds that he himself saw the grave of the founder in the abbey when he visited it in 1608.

Now, to begin with the last theory, it seems scarcely credible that the king, William I., who is known to have loved the sainted Thomas so well as to have dedicated a great monastery to his memory in 1174, could have conferred gifts and honours upon his assassin a few years before. This Morwell, Pont says, was made Constable of Scotland, and was buried in Kilwinning. But we know from the *Melrose Chronicle* that Hugh de Morville, Constable of Scotland, was buried in the chapter house of Dryburgh in 1162, where a double circle in the floor marks his resting-place. There is evidently some

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confusion here on the part of Pont; for it would take a great amount of faith to establish the historical entity of two constables of the Kingdom of the same name but not related. If Pont really saw the name of Richard de Morwell upon the founder's slab at Kilwinning, it was, of course, not the founder of Dryburgh who was patron of St. Vinnen's, though as far as dates are concerned, it would not have been difficult for the same man to have founded both abbeys. But taking into account a probable difference in date of twenty years, the sentiments of the reigning monarch toward St. Thomas and the evidence adduced to show that a Richard and not a Hugh was instrumental in the establishing of this abbey, it seems impartial to assign the disputed honour to a scion of the house of Morville and not to the sancticide. Pont, who saw what no other writer ever saw, — the chartulary of the abbey, -also insists that it was founded in 1191, but, on the authority of the Melrose Chronicle again, we learn that Sir Richard Morville, son of Sir Hugh, died in the year 1189. Besides this, the monumental evidence would show that the abbey was at least partly built as early as the building of Arbroath abbey, which was dedicated in 1178.

The oldest portions of the few fragments that we have of this once very extensive abbey support the assumption that the ancient cell of St. Vinnen was not replaced by a great monastery until toward the close of the twelfth century, though they prove almost conclusively that the thirteenth had not yet dawned when building operations were commenced here. The pointed style enveloped in Norman traditions, represented in remnants here, is the sign of transitional supremacy at the time of the laying of the corner stone. The Early English in its first Scottish form seems to have characterized the main portions of the church edifice, while a still later return to Norman proportions and outlines treated with fine Gothic details, assigns the portions that we have of the domestic buildings to the end



PLAN OF THE ABBEY OF KILWINNING,

of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The plan of the abbey as we have it to-day, derived from existing remains above ground and the excavations of the distinguished architect, Mr. Galloway, shows the monastery to have included a large cruciform church, with two massive towers at the western end and perhaps another at the crossing, a

cloister as usual to the south, reached directly from the church, and surrounded by a range of domestic buildings in two stories.

Of so extensive a group there remains to be seen only the towering end wall of the south transept in three stories, and, connected with it, a single arch of the transept aisle, a portion of the south wall of the nave, preserving the doorway which led to the cloisters, and corbels from which sprang the aisle vaults. At the west end of the south aisle we have the two heavy piers that supported the eastern side of the tower extending up two stories, with the first transverse arch of the aisle; and besides these a portion of the east wall of the cloister court, embracing the entrance to the slype and a doorway between two windows of the chapter house; back of this we find, almost buried in débris, the wall between the slype and the chapter house and a section of the opposite wall of the latter; within the slype we are able to find remnants of a well-built barrel vault and a seat running along the northern wall. The rest of the cloister is built up with modern houses of the poorer class, in the lower stories of which have been found walls and vaults that belonged to the domestic buildings that lined the church side of the garth.

The oldest of the fragments thus preserved seems to be the doorway from the south aisle of the church to the cloister. It is a beautiful example of a pointed portal enriched with mouldings of lingering Romanesque design. The three nook shafts, on either side, had bases and caps of unmistakably early design, which are still *in situ*, although the shafts are gone. Their abaci are rectangular and moulded in the style of the transition, and the rich set of deep mouldings above them shows a mixture of purely Norman and early pointed pattern; the label which completes the set is a fine specimen of dog-



tooth work. The inmost moulding is carried down along the jambs of the doorway. Within the church, or where the church was, the doorway has been reconstructed in plain ashlar. To the same period may be said to belong the aisle wall, which, by its corbels, shows the number of the bays to have been seven.

DOORWAY TO CLOISTER. From Point 1 on Plan.

The next period, the pure early pointed, claims the lower portion of the southwestern tower and transept. This great pier, consisting on its western side of a group of shafts carried up two stories, preserving on its eastern side the engaged shafts of the main arcade and the colonettes and arch spring of the triforium, connected with the aisle wall by a single pointed arch, is a splendid specimen of first pointed work,

## KILWINNING

both in design and workmanship, and shows the western towers (if they were alike) to have been open on the ground story, to the east and north, and thus to have embraced the first bay of either aisle. With this lonely remnant at the west end of the church may be studied the one surviving pier, arch, and respond at the south end of the transept. Here we find the same fine clusters of columns and a similar bold set of arch mouldings, adorned with the same delicate dog-tooth and nail-head patterns that are seen in the south doorway. From the compound cap of the pier, with a base upon its abacus, rise a group of slender shafts, that could not have been meant for vault support, as further evidence shows the high parts of the abbey to have been unvaulted, but which, like those at Dryburgh, doubtless were carried up to form an apparent footing for the roof timbers. Above this bit of main arcade, adjoining the south wall, the ruined masonry preserves a portion of triforium arcade with dog-tooth ornament, and above this a segment of a circular, cusped opening, enclosed in a rectangular frame, not unlike a feature in the transept of Dryburgh, but above the triforium instead of below it. Judging from the slope of the gable, it is evident that a clerestory of some height was superposed upon this triforium, bringing the interior to a really lofty height, speaking in terms of either English or even Early French Gothic architecture.

This remarkable height involved no difficult problems of

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construction, as the central roof was of wood, but is interesting in this locality. In the south wall of the single extant bay of the aisle is a pointed window with excellent mouldings and



END OF SOUTH TRANSEPT. From Point 2 on Plan.

label, which were once supported on either side by nook shafts within and without. This doubtless gives a clew to the form of the windows throughout the ground story of the church.

The transept end is a splendid specimen of majestic early pointed style, rising unbroken in three stories to a pinnacle at the summit of the gable some ninety feet above the original level of the church. The ground story consists of a perfectly unbroken wall, but above this the entire expanse of the transept is filled by a splendid group of three tall, pointed windows, the central opening being a little taller than the others. Their heavy mouldings were supported by long, slender shafts that rose from bases set upon the triforium ledge. The narrow masses of wall that divide these windows are pierced transversely by the triforium passage, which engirdled the entire church at that level. Above this group a large wheel window pierces the wall, between two sets of coupled arches which open upon the clerestory passage, but do not break the outer wall. The wall of the gable is of but one thickness, so that a set-off is visible above the wheel window, and is pierced by a single narrow, pointed window.

The western angle of this transept wall bears unmistakable traces of a spiral stair which led from the transept to a doorway opening upon the second story of the domestic buildings, and was then carried up to the clerestory passage. On the exterior the wall and gable show a flat surface flanked by narrow buttresses and pierced with the pointed and circular opening above and the three large windows below relieved by a continuous label moulding. The lower portion of two of these windows is partly walled up where the lines of a water table show the former presence of the steep roof of the adjoining buildings.

Of the domestic buildings there is not much to be said. The round-arched doors and windows are provided with heavy rounded mouldings on the outside of the arch and jambs. In the case of the doors a narrow horizontal moulding is carried around the arch moulds in uninteresting fashion. Of these openings only the door of the chapter house boasts of mouldings on the interior, the others being perfectly plain arches eloquent of late construction. The windows, which were of course always open, are provided with double round-arched plates from which the supporting central colonettes have disappeared.

The little that remains here cannot be considered as part of the original monastic habitation; its rough masonry faced with a thin coating of ashlar, its poverty in design, and narrow compass, all indicate the probability of its being a reconstruction after the troublous time of the war of independence, when the abbey was poor and the monks few. It is, to say the least, hardly in keeping with the dignity of style and magnificence of scale indicated of the church edifice.

A splendid site it was that the abbey had, on level ground rising slightly above the Garnock, and a glorious outlook with

### KILWINNING

a flat stretch of sand spreading to the west far out toward the Frith of Clyde.

"A plain below stretched seaward while, descried Above sea clouds, the peaks of Arran rose; And by that simple notice the repose Of earth, sky, sea, and air was vivified."

From the midst of the gleaming sea to the south the mighty cone of Ailsa Craig lifts high its grizzly head, and across the water, where the sun sinks into the ocean, loom the purple masses of Goatfell, the mountains of Arran and Kintyre. To the east roll the soft and shadowy hills of Tinto, with rich fields and pastures between. Alone in its grandeur for hundreds of years the abbey with its triplet towers appeared to stand, in the centre of a broad fen unrivalled in its dignity by art or nature; but on nearer approach it was found to be hovering over a crowded mass of humble cottages, their sheltering mother. Even to-day, as we journey by rail or post chaise toward the thriving city of Kilwinning, with its thousands of inhabitants, its great factories and extensive foundries, the ancient mediæval mother of the town is seen towering high, a ponderous mass of gray, above all her modern surroundings. Little space is given the time-worn relic of Kilwinning's earliest history; for streets of new-looking, well-built houses and shops pass directly under its shadow on every side. Here, again, the past and present are closely interwoven. We stand at evening beneath

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a broken arch of a glorious monument of the thirteenth century, we listen to the rumble of a busy factory of the nineteenth, and watch the fires flash from the glowing foundries. The schoolboy of Kilwinning has no farther to look to find the glory of Scotland's past, and the complete annihilation of that past, than to see the strength of Scotland's present.

The early history of the abbey, after its founding, is involved in much obscurity. As in the case of its sister abbey at Arbroath, founded almost simultaneously, work was begun upon the church immediately after its foundation and was pushed rapidly, with few breaks, for fifty years; for within this period the church was certainly completed, the greater part of Kilwinning probably in the first quarter of the thirteenth century and the greater part of Arbroath in the last of the twelfth.

Large grants were made to the abbey by king and knights; the monastery grew and flourished until its wealth surpassed even that of the mother monastery at Kelso, whence the first monks had been brought, for these brethren were of St. Bernard's order of Benedictines, called Tironensians.

During the wars of the fourteenth century the abbey was harassed by land and sea. In poverty and want, after years of suffering, the abbot and his followers called upon the king, David II., who gave them material aid of fresh benefactions and new revenues. Robert II. and III., James III. and IV., followed with new grants and confirmations, until the abbey

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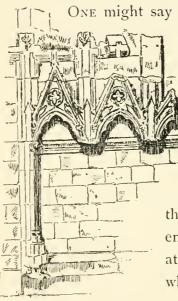
was again beginning to prosper. It was undoubtedly at this time that the present domestic edifices were built to replace those destroyed during the wars of Bruce's time. From this we can judge that, though the abbey was blessed with moderate prosperity in the benefactions of the kings, it did not attain to its pristine splendour.

Little is heard of the abbey from this time until Mary's reign, when, with its lands, it passed, like so many of its kind, into the hands of temporal lords, who, as commendators, administered the monastic lands "for the utility and advantage" of the monastery. It is well known what those words meant. The abbey soon became a free temporal lordship and passed freely from hand to hand for the "utility and advantage" of the temporal lords concerned. Toward the end of the sixteenth century the earls of Arran, Glencairn, and Argyle joined with the "Protestants of the West" to wipe the memory of the abbey from the face of the earth. This worthy mission succeeded pretty well, though they spared, by accident we presume, one powerful fragment that for three hundred years has pointed its aged finger to the sky, calling down vengeance upon the destroyers of the shrine of one of Christ's earliest messengers to the Scottish people.

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# CHAPTER XIV

## CROSRAGUEL



SEDILIA FROM CROSRAGUEL.

ONE might say that each of Scotland's ruined abbeys has its own peculiar point of interest, some feature or detail which the others do not possess, or at least do not present in an equally interesting way. At Holyrood it is the vaulting, at Jedburgh the majestic Norman work, at Melrose the carving and tracery, at Dryburgh it is the site and the precious relics there entombed that engross most of our attention and hold our thoughts longest when we have come away.

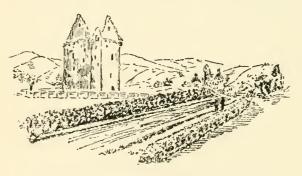
> In the different abbeys already described we have found all the styles of

mediæval ecclesiastical architecture worthily represented; taking the entire range of abbeys so far as we have gone, we have found each part of the church edifice in one or more instances, though never all in a single building. We have seen fragments of the ancient clusters of cloistral buildings, with here and there a well-preserved or a restored example. But for the most perfect set of monastic and domestic edifices we must turn to a beautiful little ruin in the south of Ayrshire, near the coast, far from the haunts of men, in a lonely little valley between Maybole and Kirk Oswald. This abbey was called in ancient times Crossragmol; in fact, its name is variously spelled during the three hundred years of its active history. It now goes by the name of Crosraguel. From its dimensions we should say that this abbey was the smallest of all that we are reviewing, excepting perhaps only Beauly in the extreme north. Nevertheless, its abbots held regal sway over all the lower parts of Ayrshire for several hundred years and its influence was felt far and wide over the southwestern domain. Further interest attaches to Crosraguel on account of its long and intimate connection with the family of King Robert Bruce; founded by one of his most famous ancestors, the abbey was cherished by his parents, endowed by the Bruce himself, and long remained a favoured beneficiary and frequent resort of the sovereigns of the house of Stuart.

The abbots of Crosraguel were many of them famous men, whose fingers not only wielded the sceptre of their priestly office but mingled in the affairs of state.

The monastery, with its far-reaching group of buildings, owes its remarkable state of preservation to two things: its remoteness from the centres of civil and religious strife, and the proximity of the castles of a number of powerful lords who, from the first, were friendly to the establishment. In later years it has fallen much to decay, and unless speedy measures are taken to prevent the unnecessary rapidity of disintegration, Scotland will soon lose one of her most unique monuments of mediævalism.

To reach Crosraguel one must go by rail to Maybole and from there make a short journey through a quiet countryside by the road that eventually leads out to the sea at Girvan. Soon after passing the last of the houses which form the thrifty hamlet of Maybole, one may descry in the distance a



mediæval landmark that like a signpost points to the older and more venerable edifice beyond. No one, however ignorant of the principles of architecture, even at a distance could

BALTERSAN CASTLE, WITH ABBEY IN THE DISTANCE.

mistake this first monument of the Middle Ages, that looms up before us on the road to Crosraguel, for the abbey itself. The note it proclaims from its beetling turrets is far too warlike for even the most militant of monasteries. Baltersan Castle,

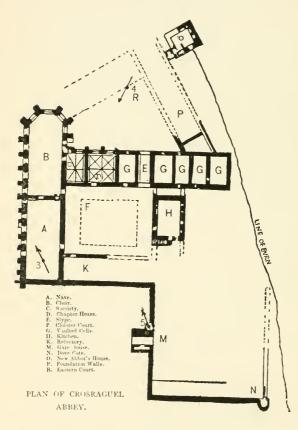
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CROSRAGUEL

for that is the name of the ruin, is an imposing specimen of Scottish baronial style, standing solitary among the fields it once protected, a fitting outpost and guardian for the old abbey which in its day saw full share of warlike assault, defending itself often single-handed until outside relief should come. When we have reached the castle, the ruins of the abbey become dimly visible at a considerable distance beyond. Close at hand we have the massy ruin of Scottish mediæval chivalry; beyond, a crumbling tower and gable, crowned with a cross of stone, mark the desolate remains of the great religious life that first brought faith to these northern shores. One cannot but muse over such a sight, nor suppress the thought that, after all, it is not only "the pride of heraldry, the pomp of power" that are ephemeral; for what is to be found below that distant cross except the nameless and unmarked graves of hundreds of men who lived for the better things of this life and that to come? Their works have perished like those of the warrior and their reward is yet to come.

The abbey is close by the roadside, opposite a tiny cottage where the key is kept.

On entering from the highroad we cross an ancient and unused graveyard and find ourselves facing the north side of the church, with the main entrance to the nave near its western end and a range of somewhat irregular windows opening from nave and choir. Entering by the door of the nave, we find a simple, oblong structure divided from the choir by a heavy wall, pierced by a bluntly pointed archway and carried up to form a gable



capped by a bell tower surmounted in turn by a well-carved cross of early design.

The choir is singularly long, terminated by a polygonal apse. Here, remains of some decoration — piscinas, ambries, and fine, though broken, sedilia — manifest the greater dignity of this portion of the church.

In the south wall of the choir are two doors; that nearest the altar leading into a spacious vaulted sac-

risty; the other leads into open air. This we pass through and find ourselves in the broad cloister court. To the right stretches the long and unbroken line of the nave wall, still

### CROSRAGUEL

bearing the corbels which held up the cloister roof; to the left a series of arched doorways mark the front walls of the more important monasterial buildings. Opposite, to west and south, lie the more or less ruined walls of the domestic buildings.



CROSRAGUEL: THE NAVE. From Point 3 on Plan.

In the centre of the court a low fence encloses the ancient abbey well, to which one descends by a few stone steps.

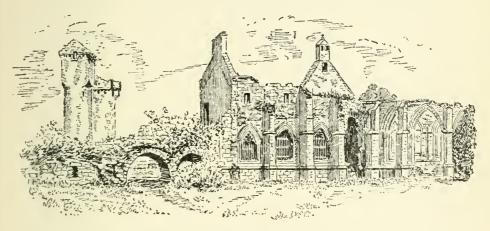
If we pass through the slype to the east, we discover a triangular enclosure, the farther side marked by a mere mound of crumbling masonry which is said to have been originally the abbot's hall. Beyond, at a little distance, a ruinous, semibaronial structure, over the burn, stands for the latest of the abbey's buildings—the abbot's house.

Returning to the cloister and passing through it to the southwest, we find ourselves in another broad close bounded on the north by a group of buildings, the central one of which is a fine gatehouse, the main entrance to the abbey precinct, with an imposing watchtower preserved entire. To the west were a few low buildings and about the remainder of the close are the remains of a high enclosing wall with a picturesque dovecot in its southwestern angle.

Walking from court to court, from hall to hall, ascending winding stairs to sit in a deep window seat and view the whole abbey and the farm lands far around, standing by ancient fireplace, burrowing in ruined kitchen and storeroom, and returning, at sound of bell, to the sacred precinct of the choir, we find at Crosraguel a lingering shadow of monastic life that has completely perished from all the other Scottish abbeys. It is possible here, as nowhere else, one might say, in all Britain, to reconstruct the simple routinary daily life of the Clunensian monk. When night shadows fall and the dark conceals the more broken portions of wall and arch, it requires but a faint imagination to replace the abbey in its pristine state, to see the far-stretching roofs restored to shelter a little host of monks and laymen, to see the blazing fire in the

#### CROSRAGUEL

kitchen and the lamps swinging bright over the long tables of the refectory, to see the beacon on the tall watchtower and faint lights glimmer from each tiny window, to see the dim candle above the altar where gather the black-robed monks for



WATCH TOWER, CHAPTER HOUSE, AND APSE. From Point 4 on Plan.

evening prayer; then, if imagination be strong enough, will follow the pealing anthems of the even-song; then the church grows dim, the sound of chanting ceases, the monks file out of the choir and ascend the winding stair; but the duties of the day are not yet over, for all night long, at intervals, prayers must be said and orisons be told again.

But we must examine the buildings of the abbey more in detail if we would endeavour to discover the dates of its erection. The most ancient parts are unquestionably in the church proper, in its foundations and in the western portions, the jambs of the west and north portals, and other minor details. These are of the thirteenth-century style and doubtless belong to the abbey's earliest period. All the rest of the church is in later styles. The plan shows a perfectly simple aisleless choir and nave of great length. Excavations undertaken at the abbey some years ago disclosed the foundations of a north transept corresponding to what is now the sacristy and chapter house, both of which are built upon older foundation walls. The present choir, however, has no transept. It is a specimen of good decorated style, and doubtless belongs to the period of great prosperity which the abbey enjoyed after the granting of its great charter in 1404.

The broad pointed windows of the choir and three-sided apse show good mouldings with groups of slender colonettes at the jambs. The bays of the choir are divided by groups of three slender wall shafts, which in the apse rest upon bases set upon the pavement, but which are everywhere else stopped by corbels. At the level of the arches the outer mouldings of the group branch to right and left and form a moulding over the windows. The sanctuary contains a beautiful sedilia of fine decorated design and an extremely rich, though muchinjured, piscina. The beaded steps of the high altar are plainly visible, but a flourishing young thorn tree occupies the altar's CROSRAGUEL

site. All the tracery of the choir has completely disappeared as if it had never been. The outer buttresses are of good early decorated design and the window headings are of excellent form. The windows of the nave are a nondescript lot; one of them is filled with very late tracery, while others have transoms. The former opening is directly above the tomb of a benefactress of the abbey who died in 1530; and is doubtless contemporary with the burial of the Lady Egidia Blair, who lived in the castle hard by.

The heavy screen wall which divides nave and choir is also late and is built upon the axis of one of the nave windows. In one angle is a stair, and at the top a belfry with a fine crosletted cross of sixteenth-century design. The arch below is well formed and moulded.

The building next to the abbey in the south is the sacristy. We are told that this was the chapter house when the north

transept was in existence. The doorway is certainly recent. The lower walls of the sacristy are somewhat older than the vault, perhaps coeval with the choir; it is provided with a low seat, like a chapter house, and in the northeastern corner a round-arched door opens upon a spiral stair that led to the upper story.

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CAPITAL FROM SACRISTY,

Its window preserves remnants of rather late flowing tracery, but its vault is most interesting. The apartment is oblong and the vault to cover it was made sexpartite with three oblique cells. The ribs rest either upon grotesque corbels or groups of shafts rising from the stone seat.

The chapter house adjoining is a beautiful specimen of late decorated vault work; it is a square apartment divided into four vault compartments by a fine cluster of shafts which stands in the centre to receive the transverse and diagonal ribs of each vault. The ribs rest on clustered shafts rising from the seat, which, as usual, is carried all round. To the east are two fine windows preserving bits of tracery in all respects like that of the sacristy. Between the windows is the abbot's throne carved in the wall. The decorations have been much defaced, but they consisted of grotesques and armorial bearings carved upon the corbels, capitals, and keystones.

Next to the chapter house is a spacious barrel-vaulted chamber, and adjoining this the passage connecting the main cloister with the eastern garth. The story above these buildings is well preserved between the church wall and a high gabled wall and chimney which rises at the end of the chapter house and supported wooden roofs on either side of it. Above the sacristy was the scriptorium. It was reached directly by the winding stairs from the sacristy. The vaults of the sacristy are greatly domed, so that the floor of the scriptorium is higher than that of the apartment adjacent, and one must descend a few steps to the library, which must have been a roomy and

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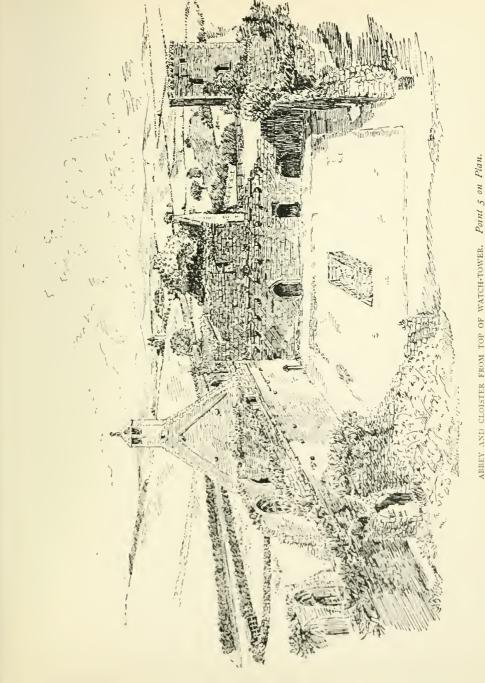
comfortable apartment with two small windows to the east, a large mullioned window upon the cloister court, and a great fireplace at its southern end. The buttresses on the outside of these buildings are of good form, and would date their construction not long after the middle of the fifteenth century.

The remaining buildings of the eastern range are mainly vaulted chambers of unknown purpose. The best-preserved building on the south of the cloister is called the refectory. It has a great fireplace and low, queer little windows, and seems as likely to have been the kitchen. Within its wall is a straight staircase which led to the dormitories. The ruins of a great building on the west show a large pointed doorway and seem to me more suitable for the refectory than the low, oncevaulted, badly lighted apartment on the south.

The inner wall of the cloister walk has almost entirely disappeared; in one corner a portion of an arch shows the angles to have been of arched construction.

The eastern garth was bounded on the south by a structure the lower vaulted story of which still remains in part. It very probably connected with the abbot's tower, which stands above the little stream and presents a few interesting details. The walls are very heavy and fitted with stairs, fireplaces, vaulted chambers, and machicolated parapet. The burn passes beneath by a vaulted passage and a stair leads down to the water. The southwestern courtyard, through which the burn flowed, had a number of buildings at the west and north,— the bakery, the brewery, etc.,— but the gatehouse with its interesting tower is the only one remaining. Its main story, a broad arch, afforded the chief entrance to the monastery; beside the archway a spiral stair leads up into the tower. The upper floors comprise comfortable apartments, with deeply recessed windows, for guests. The circular angle tower with its spiral stair becomes a square structure at the top, where a little room for the watch is provided with window seats on either side of a large opening. This room has access to the battlemented roof of the main portion of the tower.

It was about the middle of the thirteenth century when Duncan, the old Earl of Carrick, felt the need of Christianizing influence among his retainers of the south of Ayrshire. He therefore, in 1244, made large grants of land with gifts of money to the abbot of Paisley, with instructions that a monastery of his order with outlying churches should be established in the domain of Carrick. But Earl Duncan, like many since his time, soon found that the founding of churches was not all peace and good will, for the wily abbot satisfied himself with erecting a small chapel at Crosraguel and pocketed the remainder of the endowment. The earl appealed to the Bishop of Glasgow, who directed the abbey at Paisley to establish an



ABBEY AND CLOISTER FROM TOP OF WATCH-TOWER.

independent house at Crosraguel which should have all the lands of Carrick, then in possession of Paisley, for revenue; that the new establishment be peopled by Benedictines of the order of Cluny drawn from Paisley and free to elect their own abbot, leaving to the abbot of Paisley only the right of annual inspection and a tribute of ten marks.

The abbot appealed unsuccessfully to the Pope, who in 1265 confirmed the charter of the abbey, and Crosraguel began to raise its buildings on an independent foundation. The nobles of the house of Carrick watched the growth of the new abbey from their castle of Turnberry, on the coast near by; many were the gifts they gave and much did their promises of protection mean to the abbot and the brethren. About the year 1270 the title descended to a woman, — Marjory, — who, as Countess of Carrick, was wooed and won by one Robert, Earl of Annandale.

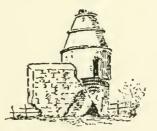
These good people were no less than the parents of the great Robert Bruce. The earl and countess were great benefactors of the abbey, and their young son was brought often to the abbey in childhood. As king, Robert was lavish in gifts to the abbey; he granted a charter confirming the endowments of Earl Duncan. In the year of his death the Exchequer Rolls show large gifts from the privy purse for repairs upon the abbey buildings. David II. followed his father's example and endowed the monastery with large benefactions. A hundred years passed; the abbey had grown in wealth and beauty. The ravages of war had been atoned for by the restored blessings of peace, and the inmates had settled into placid repose. Abbot Roger had grown old in office; his once powerful grasp upon the reins of discipline gradually loosened until the morale of the monastery was running itself. Serious faults found shelter beneath the abbey's roof. Complaints were made to the supervising abbot of Paisley, who quickly advised Abbot Roger that he should make a visitation, when he should expect certain reputed irregularities to be explained.

On Michaelmas Day in the year 1370 the Court of Inquiry convened in the chapter house of Crosraguel. The visiting abbot was seated in the chair of state; about him were grouped his followers. Poor old Abbot Roger with his little flock stood before this judge and jury of ecclesiastics. But, before the inquiry could proceed, the venerable abbot resigned his mitre and pastoral staff into the hands of his superior, saying that age and infirmity had rendered him incapable of governing his flock or of administering the temporal affairs of the abbey. Abbot John of Paisley, grasping the situation at once, stayed the investigations, simply accepted Abbot Roger's resignation, and fixed a day for the monks to elect a successor to their aged pastor. Roger was given privileges in the monastery, and remained within its walls an humble brother until he was laid with the other abbots outside the wall. In 1404 Robert III. raised the abbey to great dignity by granting it a perpetual free royal charter, which made its abbots princes of their domain, which now extended over all of Carrick and far out to the dome of Ailsa Craig.

The buildings, which had become somewhat dilapidated, were almost entirely rebuilt at this period; the choir is a survival of this work. Soon after the middle of the century Abbot Colin began his long and prosperous rule. He built the sacristy and chapter house and many of the buildings of the cloister which have remained.

In the reign of James V. the Pope ordered the Bishop of St. Andrews to visit every monastery in Scotland and to punish the "excess and enormity of the brethren dwelling therein." At this time the influential Abbot David secured from the Holy See special immunity from inspection.

After this two powerful members of the Carrick family succeeded in turn to the abbacy, and the abbey enjoyed special protection at a time when others were suffering severely. The Kennedys of Dunure Castle now became very powerful in the region, and William Kennedy became abbot. To this abbot the Archbishop of Glasgow sent his treasure, his jewels, his plate, his costly vestments, and a rare collection of books for protection in the abbey. William was succeeded by his nephew, Quentin, who held the great controversy with John Knox in Maybole, 1562. In 1561 the earls of Arran, Glencairn, and Argyle were sent out on their mission of executing the act of Privy Council suppressing "Idolatori and all monuments thereof," and among other things they tore down part of Crosraguel, but fear of the neighbouring lords prevented total demolition at this time.



THE DOVE-COTE, CROSRAGUEL.

# CHAPTER XV

#### THE ABBEYS OF GALLOWAY

### Whithorn — Glenluce

In the earliest pages of the dim, half-mythical history of ancient Caledonia we find a ray of well-authenticated tradition in the appearance of St. Ninian among the Pictish tribes of the southwest. At the coming of this sainted British missionary to the shores of the ancient domain of Galloway, the Picts of the southwest were allied with the Romans against the other tribes of fierce Caledonians; for Rome had not withdrawn her legions to the Imperial City, and this part of Britain, like the south, was fast becoming Romanized.

In 397 Ninian, said by some writers to have been the first Christian missionary to set foot in Scotland, set up the cross on the bold peninsula that separates the bays of Luce and Wigtown. It seems to be a mooted question whether the historic *Candida Casa* of St. Ninian was built upon the diminutive isle off the point of the Whithorn promontory, where a small chapel is claimed by some to mark the original foundation, or three miles further up the peninsula, on the site occupied, in after years, by the famous mediæval monastery of Whithorn. But, be this as it may, the good St. Ninian for twenty-three years continued to preach among the half-civilized Picts. At the end of that time Galloway fell into the hands of the hostile Scots, who were extending their sway over all Caledonia, and the British missionary with his Pictish followers was driven to take refuge in Ireland. Nevertheless the site of the *Candida Casa* preserved its sanctity through the dark unwritten periods of Scottish history until the twelfth century, when we find the site dignified by the erection of a great religious house; one of the most important of its time.

The domain of Galloway remained for many years independent; the lords of the domain held almost regal sway over the whole territory. It was not until the accession of David I. that Galloway was annexed to the Kingdom and made an earldom.

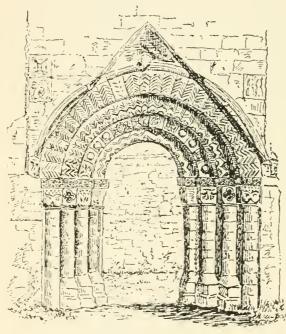
But the practical independence of the earls during the twelfth century is nowhere better illustrated than in a review of the monastic institutions founded within their domain during the years of religious activity that followed the accession of David I. to the Scottish throne. While the king was laying the foundations of numerous abbeys, priories, and churches throughout every portion of his realm, Fergus, Lord of Galloway, was founding and endowing monastic institutions of equal extent and importance in the several parts of his earldom.

We have accounts of noble families establishing one or even two abbeys in the days of David I., but here we see Earl Fergus laying corner stones of extensive monasteries at Whithorn in the centre of his domain, at Soulseat on his western borders, and Tongueland on the eastern, and sharing with his king the honour of founding the great abbey of Dundrennan near Kirkcudbright. In the latter half of the century we find his son Roland establishing an abbey in the valley of the Luce and endowing churches on both sides of the bay of Galloway; another son, Uchtred, founding a famous convent on the banks of the Nith, and in later years his great-granddaughter building the most beautiful abbey of all in Galloway, a few miles to the south of Dumfries. Thus the powerful lords of Galloway, who knew but one rival in their ruling, founded, endowed, and protected the ecclesiastical settlements within the boundaries of their ancient possessions, like sovereigns of a greater realm. In one case the name of the king is associated with that of the head of the house in founding one of their great institutions. This we may take as an acknowledgment of his superior sway, though it admitted no necessity of royal assistance. The lords of the southwestern peninsulas remained loyal for many centuries, but as nearly independent rulers as was consistent with loyalty to the Crown.

Of the edifices erected by Earl Fergus very few remains have been spared the ravages of war and the vandalism of the Reformation. By the placid lake of Soulseat only a few mounds of mouldering earth mark the site of the westernmost of these abbeys. A single arch of apparently Early English design is the sole surviving remnant of Tongueland Abbey, beside the waters of Dee. Both of these monasteries were founded about 1140 and were colonized by Premonstratensian monks, like those at Dryburgh, but from Cokersand in Lancashire. Their history is lost forever in the oblivion of Reformation annihilation, and their massive walls have long since gone to build the homes of plebeian laymen; only the record of their name lives with the memory of their pious founder.

The oldest of Fergus's abbeys, the shrine of St. Ninian, — built upon foundations older perhaps than those of Sta. Sophia, Justinian's great church, — is in rather a better state of preservation. Of the original structure, of course, no traces are distinguishable, but the edifice of Fergus's building is represented in a fine doorway and fragments of wall. A little over two hundred years ago, Symson tells us, the single western tower and the nave stood comparatively well preserved; but the fall of the tower in later years greatly damaged the western extremity of the main body of the church, leaving the remainder the only portion of interest.

This long, aisleless nave, with the exception of the Norman doorway mentioned above, in its southwest angle, is all in rather late pointed style. A range of good pointed windows and a pointed doorway, with well-moulded arch and slender nook shafts, give character to the south wall, while the unbroken wall on the opposite side of the house, with other evidence, proves the cloister to have occupied this somewhat



NORMAN PORTAL, WHITHORN.

rare position.

Beside the nave there remain only the vaulted crypts of the choir and that of a structure well to the east, which Mr. Galloway, the architect, who has conducted excavations here, calls a later, secondary transept. A fragment of the twelfth - century south transept wall, and bits of the foundations of the north

transept, which is believed to have served as a chapter house, of the slype and other domestic buildings, complete the extant remains of the abbey of Whithorn. The Norman doorway, through which we may believe the founder passed, is at once suggestive of the western portal of Dunfermline. Its nook shafts are heavier and more primitive in proportions, but the carving of the caps and abaci is substantially the same, while the deep mouldings above, with their chevron ornament and geometrical pattern, their heavy label supported at either end by a grotesque head, is decidedly reminiscent of Dunfermline's grand portal. The outer mouldings and the wall above have been much damaged by the roof of a porch now fortunately destroyed, for which the water table was ruthlessly cut into the stonework. Above the arches, in the old Norman wall, are to be seen some squared stones carved in fantastic and geometrical patterns, suggesting the rich barbaric Norman character of the early church.

From the earliest times the abbey of Whithorn was the object of religious pilgrimages. The shrine of St. Ninian was held in highest reverence throughout the Kingdom, and was frequently visited by royalty and persons of high rank. King Robert the Bruce made the abbey the object of his devout liberality, and is known to have made a pilgrimage hither in the year of his death. James IV. chose St. Ninian's shrine as his favourite religious retreat, and came, often twice in one year, to pay his devotion to the patron saint. On certain occasions these visits were paid in royal splendour, "with retinue of many a knight and squire." The abbey buildings were of far greater extent than is possible for us to reconstruct in mind upon the scant remains now visible. The inmates, who were of Earl Fergus's favourite order, the Premonstratensian, were often very numerous, and many of the later abbots distinguished themselves in the affairs of state.

# Glenluce

From the first abbey of Earl Fergus, situated at the end of the Whithorn peninsula, ruined and desolate, we turn to a



CORBEL FROM CHAPTER HOUSE, GLENLUCE.

monastery founded, over fifty years later, by his descendant, Roland, just below the moors, in a lovely valley called by the monks Vallis lucis, down which the water of Luce rushes in a turbulent stream of rich amber colour. Down the valley of Luce a superb view stretches far out over an arm of the sea called Luce Bay, to the lighthouse on the Mull of Galloway. Smooth, well-tilled fields spread on either side of the river

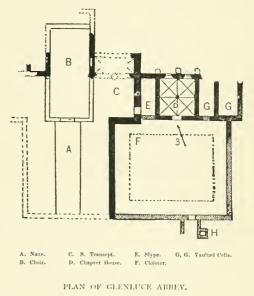
and surround the abbey with downs of level green. To the north, low, heathery hills break the violence of winter winds. An ideal spot it was that Roland chose for the site of his religious establishment, and happy was the monk sent to Glenluce.

An extensive and exceptionally beautiful abbey with farreaching monastic buildings, built largely in the late decorated style of Melrose, stood almost intact, in the vale of Luce, until 1646, when it was sold to be used as a quarry. Having escaped the ravages of war and the violent hands of the

Reformers, it was ignominiously torn down, its well-cut stone being carted away for the foundations and walls of numerous castles and manor houses in the district.

Of the church there remain upright only the wall and gable of the south transept, but it is possible to discover in the débris that surrounds the private burial plot which occupies the site of the choir, the lines of a

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two-aisled nave, slightly projecting transepts, an aisleless choir, and a vaulted sacristy adjoining the south transept to the east. The cloister court seems not to have been reached in the vandalistic operations that annihilated the nave; for the range of buildings on its eastern side is fairly well preserved in one story, while the three other sides are traceable in patched-up walls.

The surface of the cloister court seems to have been raised by the accumulation of débris to over two feet above its original level. Adjoining the transept is a chamber, probably the slype, filled with fragments and overgrown with weeds. But



GLENLUCE: TRANSEPT END AND CHAPTER HOUSE FROM SOUTHEAST.

next to this is one of the most charming examples of the characteristic Scottish chapter house in all the north country, — a chamber twenty-four feet square, vaulted in four compartments which have a common support in a fine cluster of slender shafts in the centre of the building, lighted from the east by two pointed windows with mullioned tracery, restored by some lover of Gothic art from original fragments, and opening upon the cloister by a richly moulded arch of delicate proportions and design. The carving of the corbels that support the slender vault ribs, that of the compound capital, of the central support, of the keystones, and of the abbot's chair, cut into the eastern wall, is all of graceful design treated in a manner worthy of the best artists. The jambs of the doorway are decorated just below the arch spring with a band of flowing leaf-ornament most unique in composition, while a label

within is supported by grotesque heads cowled like monks. One keystone bears the rampant lion of Scotland upon his well-known shield.

It is impossible to say why this beautiful vaulted chapter house was left unscathed; perchance it was for the use of nonconformist worshippers. It was the fold of *real* sheep when I visited it, and



DOORWAY OF CHAPTER HOUSE. Point 3 on Flan.

their feeding-trough occupied the most prominent place in the building. Adjoining the chapter house are two simple barrelvaulted chambers, whose ceilings are richly decorated with a growth of maidenhair fern that has found footing between the stones. Its even growth, stirred by a gentle breeze, shows effects of changeable green seldom seen in the most costly hangings. The vaults of all these chambers are roofed with a thick coating of earth provided with heavy turf, so that they are safe for the present.

The towering transept wall shows, by a water table, how high the roofs of the dormitories, above the chapter house and other buildings, extended. A doorway and a fragment of stair are still to be seen in the wall, and three small windows of good pointed character open out above the roofs of the cloister buildings.

The history of Glenluce Abbey must be short as the description of its parts. It was peopled by monks from Melrose and flourished from the date of its founding, 1190, until 1545, when the monks were driven from their cloister. For some years in its later history, the abbey was a bone of contention between the Kennedys and the Gordons.

# CHAPTER XVI

### DUNDRENNAN

THERE is no county in all Scotland that can boast more varied scenery than Kirkcudbrightshire. The broad channel of the river Dee winds its course from north to south through moorland and meadow, cultivated fields and marshy fens. The deep estuary at the river's mouth divides the Lowlands into two great peninsulas, rich with well-kept farms and picturesque with copsy knolls and thickly wooded haughs. To the northeast EFFIGY OF ABBOT, there are moors and fells rising toward the sea to where the lofty dome of Criffel looks across the Solway



CHAPTER HOUSE, DUNDRENNAN.

Firth to the higher peaks of Cumberland. The variety of its natural beauties is fully equalled by the

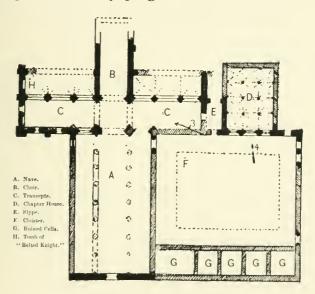
historic and romantic interests in which the country abounds, beginning with the far-off mythical days of Uther Pendragon and the Roman occupation, coming down through the Middle Ages, full of memories of the romantic and warlike exploits of Bruce, of the Black Douglas, and others of that famous family,

that linger in tradition about the crumbling walls of the castles Threave and Buittle.

The romance of later days in the Stewartry, fresh in the minds of the lovers of Sir Walter's tales, still lives in the castle of Carscreugh, where wanders the spirit of the "Bride of Lammermoor," in Dirk Hatterick's cave and the haunts of "Old Mortality." Poetry, fiction, and history have enlivened the whole region with a glamour of associations richer perhaps than in any district in Scotland.

Of the numerous abbeys established in the twelfth century between the Solway and the Frith of Clyde none is so well preserved in its architectural features nor so well known in history as the abbey of Dundrennan.

Its site, like that of all Cistercian monasteries, was chosen with the utmost forethought, in a fertile, protected vale opening to the south upon the Solway Frith and watered by a never-failing burn. Above the abbey rises the Hill of Thorns, -Dun Drainan, - which gave the abbey its name. From this eminence a splendid panorama is unfolded in all directions. To the north the view extends over the moors to distant heathery hills; to the east rises Criffel, and further down, across the gleaming frith, the ever-changing slopes of the mountains of Cumberland; to the south the sea; and westward lie, beyond the Dee and Wigtown Bay, the Whithorn promontory and St. Ninian's Isle. Here Lord Fergus, in 1142, laid the foundation of a great monastery, colonizing it from the ancient Cistercian foundation in Rievalle, Yorkshire. Silvanus was appointed first abbot and ruled for many years, but it is impossible to say how far the building of the abbey progressed under his rule.



PLAN OF DUNDRENNAN ABBEY.

The ruin is chiefly in the early transitional style with a large proportion of frankly Norman details. It is approached from the little group of cottages that form the sequestered hamlet, through the original portal of the west front, which is almost the sole surviving remnant of the nave. Within the portal we see two long rows of bases of the columns of the eight-bayed nave, and on either side the lower courses of aisle walls. Near the crossing the outer wall on the north preserves a bit of window jamb and arch, while that to the south contains the jambs of a good doorway which led to the cloister.

The transepts, extending three bays to the right and left, are well preserved. Each had a vaulted eastern aisle, the outer walls of which are now completely destroyed. The walls of the aisleless choir are brought forward across the transept aisle to the piers of the crossing, which were heavily reënforced at all four angles and consisted on the inner face of a fine cluster of slender shafts carried up two stories, not unlike those supporting the tower arches of Kelso, and quite similarly capped. A considerable difference is noticeable between the transepts, the northern arm being of rather better style. Both are decidedly Norman in character, though all the lower arches are pointed. In the north transept the three fine moulded arches on the eastern side are supported by clustered columns with capitals of late moulded Norman design. Above these a well-proportioned triforium consists of a blind arcade of three groups of four lancet-pointed arches of elegant composition. Behind this arcade is concealed the passage of the triforium.

Then comes the clerestory, of tall, round-headed windows of the simplest Norman style. The east wall of the aisle has dis-

#### DUNDRENNAN

appeared, but its northern wall preserves a good Norman window, and, in the angle, an ascending vaulting shaft. The north



LOOKING ACROSS THE TRANSEPTS. From Point 3 on Plan.

wall is plain on the ground story, broken only by a doorway of later cutting. At the triforium level are two fine, deeply splayed Norman windows rising through two stories. The mouldings of their arches are supported at the jambs by slender shafts and each is embraced by a broad wall arch, similarly supported at the angles of the transept, and by a cluster of shafts between the windows. On either side of the windows are seen the openings in the wall where passes the triforium passage.

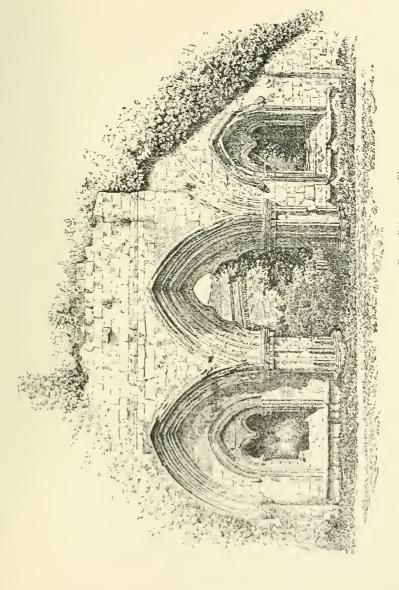
The gable is pierced by two pointed windows. The western wall of this arm of the transept has but two stories of large simple Norman openings. The triforium passage here maintains the same level in the wall. In the south transept the main arcade is quite similar to that of the north, but the mouldings are flatter and the clusters of columns are not composed with equal skill. A complete change was made in the triforium, where there are two open, coupled arches of pointed style separated by a heavy pier above each of the main arches. This arcade is not nearly so light nor so well designed as that of the opposite arm.

The clerestory is simply Norman again and the evidence of aisle vaults is of early pointed type, showing this church to have been, like the transitional edifices of England and France, Gothic in the principles of interior construction and design, but frankly Romanesque in outward appearance. The southern and western walls of this transept are missing, but they were doubtless similar to those of the opposite arm. The choir was by all odds the plainest portion of the edifice. Its eastern end has perished, but the side walls show that this DUNDRENNAN

portion of the abbey was aisleless and had heavy unbroken walls in the first story. In later days a doorway was cut on either side into the transept aisle, which must have been divided nominally into chapels with separate altars. From the triforium level tall Norman windows like those in the transept extend to the top of the wall. There is every appearance of the choir having been vaulted in cross-vaults at a very early period, provision for the support of ribs being made in groups of shafts stopped by corbels at the triforium stringcourse.

The quadrangle of the cloister is intact; the buildings on the east are totally destroyed, but for the chapter house. Next the church was the slype, now completely ruined; then comes the chapter house, which, from existing remains, would seem to have been the largest in the realm. Within are found bases of six clustered columns which prove that there were twelve vault compartments. The façade, with its broad doorway flanked by coupled pointed openings, is a beautiful example of work of the richest decorated period. The pointed arch of the central opening is provided with an exceedingly rich set of fine mouldings, which are repeated in wall arches on either side above the windows. The main arch is cusped to cinquefoil form and its recessed mouldings are supported by sets of coupled shafts with simple moulded caps. The outer arches rest on single nook shafts. The windows, which were always open, consist each of two pointed arches embraced by a broader moulded arch, also pointed. The shafts which separated the sub-order of arches have been lost, but the colonettes at the sides are represented by their bases and caps. These, with the rich arch and jamb mouldings and the carved design above the smaller arches, are sufficient to show the elegance of the original design. The embracing arch of the windows have label mouldings of great beauty. The end of one preserves a loop which marked its termination, a motive of decoration of Oriental origin doubtless imported by crusading monks. The jambs are ornamented with mouldings of nail-head and other patterns peculiar to the richest period of pointed style.

The southern limit of the cloister is marked by a simple improvised wall, but the western side consists of a series of six vaulted cells, above which was one of the main halls of the monastery, either fratry or dormitory. A number of interesting tombs are scattered about the church and abbey buildings. One, that of Allan, Lord of Galloway, who married a granddaughter of David I. and who died about 1250, enshrines a well-executed effigy in full armour, now much mutilated, and called for centuries the "Belted Knight." This tomb niche is in the north wall of the transept aisle and has been much exposed to the weather. A better preserved sepulchral figure is one in the chapter house. It is that of an ecclesiastic



FRONT OF CHAFTER HOUSE. From Point 4 on Plan.

of high rank, presumably an abbot, bearing his crosier over breast and shoulder. His feet rest upon a curious figure of human shape, in frightful contortions and stabbed with some weapon.

It has long been a disputed question whether King David I. or Fergus, Lord of Galloway, was the real founder of the abbey of Dundrennan. Fordun in his "Scotichronicon," written in 1385, names the king, while Spottiswood, in 1655, declares that the earl was founder. It is well known that David was a large benefactor of the abbey, and it is easy to see how readily so pious a prince might be considered the founder of this as well as many other abbeys. Such an error long prevailed regarding the founding of Dryburgh, until archæologists found out the true founder. But of Dundrennan there is no chronicle, and it is thus impossible to decide with absolute certainty. For many centuries the abbots of Dundrennan were appointed by the king instead of the Pope, and this fact may have helped to mislead early writers.

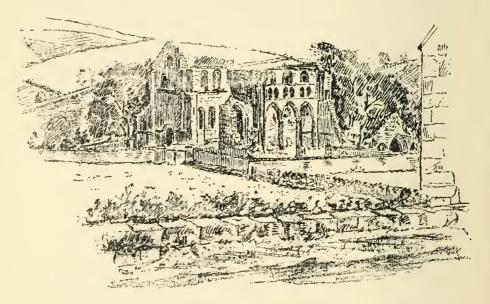
Hardly more than twenty or thirty years could have elapsed between the founding of the abbey and its completion, if we judge from the style and structure of the church edifice.

The domestic buildings suffered during King Edward's wars and were restored in the sumptuous style of which we have an example in the chapter house. The extent of this DUNDRENNAN

building would argue for the great number of the abbey's inmates at the time of its building; for there is no better indicator of the size of the chapter of a monastery at a given time than its chapter house. We have frequent examples of the enlarging of a chapter house when the number of canons had outgrown the original building, as at Dryburgh, and cases where a chapter house has been rebuilt, inferior in comparative size and style to the church edifice, where the chapter had become reduced, as at Kilwinning.

The abbey seems to have flourished richly until Reformation times, and to its shelter and sanctuary fled the hapless Queen Mary after the disheartening defeat at Langside by the Regent Murray. The monks received the unfortunate queen and undoubtedly would have died in her defence had her enemies followed her and laid siege to the abbey. Here the queen spent her last night in the ancient realm of her ancestors, and the following morning before daybreak was escorted to the seashore at a point some two miles away, where a boat was waiting to convey her to the protection of her cousin. The spot where she embarked has ever since been known as Port Mary.

I would advise a visitor to Dundrennan to walk the six miles from Kirkcudbright. Two roads lead to the abbey; one over the hills with splendid views, the other along the bay for some distance and then across the peninsula. Both abound in interest, and give the pedestrian a charming impression of this lovely district of the Scottish country. But I would warn him against choosing the first day of the week for the excursion. My first visit was made upon a lovely Scottish Sabbath, and after my invigorating walk of six miles, I met



THE ABBEY FROM THE "CROWN AND ANCHOR."

with the chagrin of being denied admission and receiving a strong rebuke, as I could not name a relative buried within the abbey precinct and enrolled upon the sexton's register. So I crossed the abbey burn and ascended the hill on the other side, where I had a superb view of the ruin and its lovely situation.

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On the occasion of my next visit it rained somewhat harder than it is wont to do in Scotland, and I had to content myself with making a sketch from a window of the "Crown and Anchor." It was not until the third time that I could really enjoy the beauties of the ruin and make a few sketches in peace.

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# CHAPTER XVII

#### LINCLUDEN

BESIDE the shady banks of the river Nith, where it is joined by the waters of Cluden, upon a point of land almost isolated



PISCINA FROM CHOIR OF LINCLUDEN,

by the curves of the two streams, stands the ruin of Lincluden Abbey. No site in all Scotland is more fair; no ruin is more graceful. The abbey was not one of the more extensive settlements of the Kingdom, and its ruins do not cover a wide area; but for some reason, hard to explain, this abbey, though much destroyed, carries one back into the Middle Ages as few other ruins do. The situation can have changed but little since the days when the cloistered inmates

spent their placid lives within the abbey's enclosure; the rivers have not altered, and the smooth green of the haugh could scarcely have been more green or smooth.

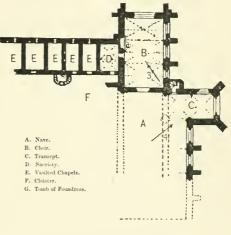
The cloisters lay to the north of the church, while on the southern side we find a carefully graded knoll, partly natural,

#### LINCLUDEN

partly artificial, with even terraces easily discerned upon its regular slope and tall trees growing at quite regular intervals upon them. This was unquestionably erected as a *Calvary*, at the time of the original founding of the abbey, and had its crucifix at the summit, toward which the nuns ascended by slow

degrees with many a prayer and *pater noster*, as the *Scala Sancta* is ascended to-day. This is one of the few *Calvarys* to be found in Great Britain; in France they are the common adjunct of monasteries, but if many existed in Britain they have long since disappeared.

The ruins, which are chiefly in the decorated style



PLAN OF LINCLUDEN ABBEY.

of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, consist of the south wall of the nave and the south transept with the choir, roofless, but otherwise well preserved; a diminutive sacristy adjacent to the choir on the north and a long range of vaulted cellars, extending northward, substructures of the more important monastic edifices, and, at the end of the range, a towerlike castellated structure, believed to have been the house of the superior. To east and west of these buildings there appear to have been two courtyards: that adjoining the nave extending to the very river's brink and now completely destroyed; the other seems to have been more extensive, for the foundations of walls, forming a perfect quadrangle, are plainly recognized in mounds of green turf.

The abbey was founded as a convent for Benedictine nuns about the middle of the twelfth century, by Uchtred, son of the great Earl Fergus who founded so many monasteries in other parts of ancient Galloway. Almost no portions of the original structure can be found among the ruins, although quite recent excavations have revealed foundations and broken details of undoubted Norman date. These are sufficient to show that the present church was erected on substantially the same lines as the older one, and that the western doorway, which seems to have survived the rebuilding, was a Norman recessed arch of several orders.

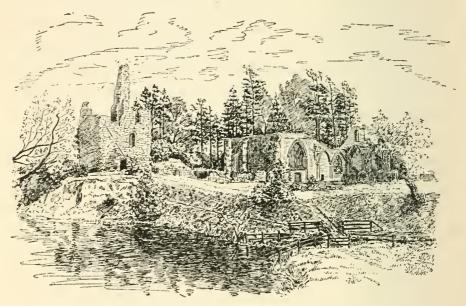
The sisters of the black habit seem to have occupied this lovely site for upward of two hundred years, undisturbed, unmolested in their simple, secluded life, until Archibald, Earl of Douglas, called the "Grim," a descendant and successor to the titles of the old Lords of Galloway, discovered reasons for displacing the sisterhood, assigning "insolence" on their part as his reason, though it is understood that he acquired large land tenures by suppressing the convent. The grim Archibald never-

#### LINCLUDEN

theless not only set up a new establishment on the old foundation, so long held by the sisterhood, but rebuilt the convent in new and sumptuous style. He now founded a *collegiate* institution with a provost and twelve canons, and made new endowments of considerable extent.

The first provost, Elias, was appointed in 1404. Under him the church was begun and changes were made in the domestic buildings for the accommodation of the canons. Under Provost Cairns, the successor of Elias, the number of inmates was swelled by the admission of twenty-four bedesmen and a chaplain. From this period the history of the abbey is intimately associated with the house of Douglas. The earls made Lincluden a frequent residence and enriched the abbey more and more. Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, son of Archibald the Grim, made it the object of his pious liberality, and his arms are found emblazoned in several parts of the church. This noble crossed the channel with a large retinue to aid Charles VII., and was created Duke of Touraine by the French monarch for his gallant services. In 1424 he was slain in the fierce battle of Verneuil. The story of these French honours, won by Lord Douglas, is told in simple language by the carven stones of the abbey: a lovely corbel in the choir, bearing the device of three fleurs-de-lis under a ducal crown supported by two rampant lions, serves as a chapter in history. A peculiar interest and great historic value attaches to the

style of architecture introduced extensively in the early fifteenth century, when heraldic emblems were employed as decorative devices. These not only indicate the connection of certain noble families with the buildings where they are found, but

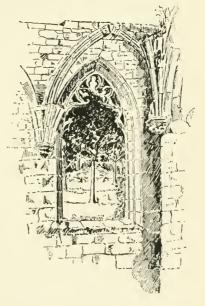


THE ABBEY FROM CLUDEN WATER.

wherever they appear they are like a seal upon the surrounding architecture, and by the science of heraldry we are enabled to fix its date. In the heraldic symbols of Lincluden we may read the changing history of the house of Douglas, their acquisition, by inheritance or by marriage, of the titles of Galloway, Annandale, and far-away Moray. The human heart, which was added to the stars of the Douglas arms after the death of Bruce and the romantic mission of the Good Sir James, is to be found in many a corbel, keystone, and carved bracket of Lincluden's walls. The em-

blems of the royal house of Stuart traced upon one prominent shield show that a Douglas aspired to royal alliance. Thus the ancient ruin is given a language of its own which those versed in blazonry can readily understand, and a double interest is added to each bit of detail.

The second Earl Archibald it was who brought the royal arms to Lincluden by his marriage with the Princess Margaret, daughter of Robert III. The countess endowed the college with extensive grants in 1429 in memory of her husband, slain far away in France,



THE CALVARY SEEN THROUGH WINDOW IN CHAPEL OF THE GOOD SIR JAMES DOUGLAS. From Point 4 on Plan.

and erected a chapel to the Good Sir James in the south transept. In consequence of these gifts the number of inmates was more than doubled and more elaborate plans were made for beautifying the church. In 1440 the countess died and a gorgeous tomb was erected for her on the north side of the choir. Under Provost Haliburton, appointed 1430, the choir was well under way; for his arms are found well up on the south wall. The work was certainly beautifully designed and most skilfully executed. The choir is not a large structure, scarcely exceeding fifty feet by thirty, and aisleless.

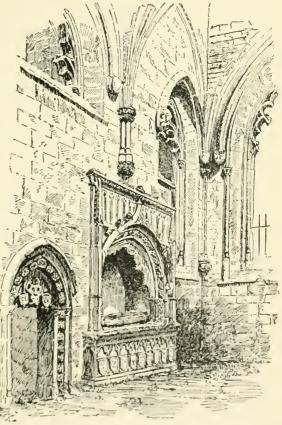
It was divided into three bays, and was cut off from the nave by a high screen pierced with a flat-arched doorway. The east end contained a spacious window, traceried in rich decorated fashion. Each bay was lighted on the south by a fine broad window with tracery similar to that over the high altar. On the north the window of the eastern bay is partly closed by the tomb of the benefactress, and those above the building that stood over the sacristy are of the equilateral triangle form seen at Beauly and Pluscarden. A broad moulded arch supported by clustered columns divides the choir and nave above the screen, and an arched doorway, richly moulded, leads from choir to sacristy.

That the choir was vaulted upon an intricate system of ribs is very evident from the copious remnants of springers and the clustered vault shafts, with their rich caps, brought down a considerable distance and stopped with bases upon highly ornate corbels; but the singular feature was the undoubted use of a simple pointed barrel vault above that of English decorated type. This, it has been suggested, was built to protect the lower structure and to carry a gabled roof of

#### LINCLUDEN

ponderous flagstones like those in the early churches of Auvergne and that which now covers the nave of Melrose. Between these sets of vaults was an apartment lighted at the eastern end by a small window par-

tially preserved. The decoration of the choir within and without is both rich and refined. The details are executed on rather large scale and thus diminish the apparent size of the edifice; but shaft and rib, cap and corbel, base-mould and cornice, are executed with a degree of perfection seldom seen so far north. The



TOMB OF THE FOUNDRESS IN THE CHOIR, AND DOORWAY TO SACRISTY. From Point 3 on Plan.

door leading to the sacristy is heavily enriched with a foliate band between the two chief mouldings of the arch, and carried down between the two colonettes on either side. The arch is filled with a carved tympanum adorned with the heraldic shields of Archibald the Grim and his countess. On the south side of the choir a lovely triple sedilia attracts attention by its sculptured enrichments, and an exquisite piscina adjoining the altar is one of the most chaste and beautiful specimens of delicate decorated detail in Great Britain. Three low corbels projecting from the wall behind the site of the high altar appear to have supported an elaborately carved reredos, fragments of which have been brought to light in recent excavations.

But the gem of the abbey's sculptured details is the superb tomb of the Countess Margaret in the north wall, — a deep semicircular niche, adorned above by a heavy canopy of an ogee moulding rich with crockets and finial, on either side a slender ornamental buttress with an acute carved pinnacle. Between the tops of the pinnacles, on a line with the finial of the ogee moulding, runs a rich foliate moulding and the wall surface included beneath it and between the little buttresses is panelled in delicate cusped arches.

The arch of the niche is very elaborately designed with an ornate band of intricate foliage between its chief mouldings and carried down between the minute colonettes that support them on either side. Within the arch a rich cusping of elaborate carving broke up the roundness of the curve into a

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series of small segments and added greatly to the sumptuous effect.

The bottom of the niche consists of a broad, flat shelf which projected several inches from the wall surface. Upon this reposed the sculptured figure of the countess. This shelf formed the cover of a large sarcophagus, which also projected into the choir, bearing on its sides, in stately design, a row of nine armorial shields, each beneath its trefoil arch. The tomb was rifled and the effigy of the countess was torn from its place and ruthlessly destroyed centuries ago; but the present proprietors have restored the figure and the broken portions of the tomb from existing fragments.

None of the tombs of the Douglases at the famous little church of St. Bride's, in the upper ward of Lanarkshire, can compare with this for richness or dignity of design, and few in all Scotland are more beautiful; when complete in all its parts and brilliant with gold and colour, it must have been a gorgeous feature of the little choir.

In the opposite wall of the choir the triple sedilia of exquisite workmanship, though now sadly mutilated, is a fine example of fifteenth-century carving, while the screen at the west end of the choir is of particular interest from this point of view. The screen is a solidly built structure with a low, flat-arched doorway; its summit is reached by a spiral stair. The decoration is confined to the upper portions, a heavy, overhanging cornice richly adorned with foliate bands and sculptured figures of angels in attitudes of adoration. Below the cornice a frieze in relief, now greatly defaced, seems to have represented scenes from sacred history.

The sculpture of the south transept and the fragment of the nave still preserved consists of angel figures carved in the corbels of the vault ribs. The mouldings of the exterior are of elegant design and of the large scale prevalent in this edifice.

Lincluden is only a mile from Dumfries. It is a lovely walk from the town to the ruin, along the banks of the Nith, amid green pastures where peaceful cattle graze, then skirting fields of grain, it passes into the welcome shade of splendid old trees, and rounding the Calvary hill, comes upon the most lovely of ruins, so far as its site is concerned, in all North Britain.



CORBEL IN CHOIR.

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# CHAPTER XVIII

#### SWEETHEART ABBEY

THE last of the house of the Lords of Galloway to establish a religious institution in Scotland was a daughter of Lord Allan whose tomb we have seen at Dundrennan, Devorgilla, mother of King John Baliol and foundress of Baliol College, Oxford. Though the founding of Baliol College was in direct execution of her husband's will, this gracious lady, who is said to have been the richest subject of her time in either kingdom, was famous for her benefactions in England and Scotland. At nineteen Devorgilla had married John Baliol of Castle Bernard, Yorkshire, and after forty years of married life had become a widow, inheriting from her husband large estates in England. By the death of all the heirs of her father, she came into possession of all the lordship he had held, so that it is not difficult to believe the story of her vast wealth.

Inheriting further, to some extent, the disposition of her great ancestor David I. of royal line, Devorgilla, from her ample means, erected and endowed convents throughout her broad domain: one for Franciscan friars at Dumfries, one for Dominicans at Wigtown, and another for Franciscans at Dundee. She founded a monastery at Holywood on the Nith, restored and extended the great abbey of Dundrennan, besides establishing the "new abbey," the Sweetheart Abbey of this chapter.

The story of the founding of this abbey is most romantic and quite unlike the prosaic church foundings of King David I., or of later sovereigns and subjects who were simply performing a perfunctory and formal act of piety. Of such a character were Devorgilla's other pious acts of convent building, but in the founding of the new abbey there is a touch of pathos and romance that is quite refreshing.

After her husband's death the disconsolate Devorgilla had his heart embalmed and placed in an ivory casket, which she made her constant companion. The "Sweet-heart," as she called it, travelled with her upon her journeys between Galloway and her Yorkshire estates, and doubtless journeyed to Oxford with the devoted widow.

But as time passed and age began to warn the countess that she must soon follow her beloved spouse, she resolved to build a monument worthy of their loves, a resting-place for herself and the cherished relic. A great abbey, she thought, would be a fitting monument of their devotion, where she herself might lie, when death should call her too, with the heart upon her heart. This was the end for which she undertook to erect a great church, under the high altar of which she and her "Sweet-heart" might sleep the long sleep; this gave reason for the name that, from the first, was given to the new abbey.

The epithet *new* was applied to the abbey in contradistinction to Dundrennan, which had been built a hundred years before and which was now called the "Old Abbey." The other appellation was variously corrupted, and we find Duz Quer, Douce Cœur, and Dulce Cor in old records, and an old rhymer sings:—

> "In Dulcecorde Abbey She taketh her rest With the heart of her husband Embalmed in her breast."

In 1275, according to Fordun, the first endowments were made for the abbey and directly work was begun upon the church and buildings. A colony of twelve Cistercian monks was established in the same year and Henry was made first abbot. Within nine years from its founding, the abbey seems to have been well under way and a portion, at least, was dedicated; for some sixty years ago, among the ruins, a stone was found that had been used in the superstructure, bearing the inscription:—

> DEVORGILLA, FUNDATRIX HUJUS MONA, MCCLXXXIIII.

In 1289 Abbot Henry started on a journey to the mother house of the Cistercian order at Cîteaux in France, and died on the way, and in the same year the foundress of the abbey ended her long labours for charity and the church in the Vill de Kempstone, and was laid in the choir of her church, before the high altar, with her husband's heart pressed close to her own. Upon their tomb was inscribed an elegy written for Devorgilla by the prior of Lanercroft:—

> "In Devorgil, a sybil sage doth dye, as Mary contemplative, as Martha pious; To her, O! deign, High King! rest to impart Whom this stone covers, with her husband's heart."

The second abbot, Ericus, lived but six years after his consecration, but under him considerable work must have been accomplished; for under his successor building activity must have come to a standstill, as it did everywhere in Scotland after Edward I. had begun his invasion. Abbot John was, indeed, more deeply concerned with matters political and with saving the abbey and its lands from the invaders than with extending or beautifying its buildings. Immediately upon his appointment Abbot John renounced his allegiance to the French Crown and swore fealty to the English sovereign; the lands which had been taken from the abbey were then restored. He sat in the parliament that chose Edward as arbitrator between Bruce and Baliol and naturally sympathized with the king's favourite.

Four years later Edward had again crossed the Scottish border and Pope Boniface VIII. had sent a bull to England asserting the independence of Scotland except so far as the Holy See was concerned. Robert Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, received this dictum of papal authority and set out to find the king. The archbishop was detained for some time at Carlisle, but finally journeyed on to Newabbey, where he overtook his Majesty giving thanks in the church for his victory at Caerlaverock Castle. Then followed the famous interview.

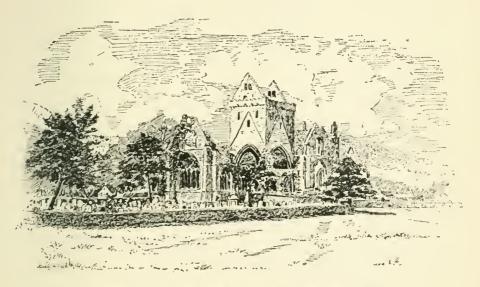
The names of the abbots who ruled the monastery during the fourteenth century have been lost to memory, though after the war of independence extensive work was carried out upon the church edifice. And all seems to have been completed by 1381, when the abbey had become short of funds and had suffered a catastrophe from lightning. At this time we find the monks appealing for assistance and the Bishop of Galloway granting fresh revenues to the abbey for repairs. In the next century the names of two abbots, Thomas and William, appear, but the history of the abbey is very obscure during that period.

Abbot Robert began the sixteenth century, and the abbacies of two famous men, John and Gilbert Brown, extend over its

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latter half. These two were staunch supporters of the waning power of Rome in Scotland. Gilbert, the last abbot, fought hard to hold the southwest to the old faith and had many friends and faithful followers; but he was finally condemned as a Jesuit and a rebel, and banished. He was the prototype of Sir Walter Scott's "Abbot." During the Reformation the Privy Council commanded Lord Herries, the friend of Queen Mary, to lay waste the abbey and its dependencies, but his Lordship refused, we are told, because he had been educated within the abbey's walls and loved it too well to be the instrument of its destruction. So the abbey was spared assault and the wracking effects of gunpowder, and came to its state of ruin by a process of gradual decay. At the time of the Reformation the abbey was feued to Lord Maxwell, but eventually was vested in the Crown. It then changed from hand to hand, suffering more and more from natural decay and local vandalism. Little by little the more exposed portions of the church fell in, and the vaults of the aisles collapsed, while the abbey buildings disappeared almost to a stone. It is about a century since the first steps were taken to preserve the ruin. A number of persons succeeded in arousing sufficient interest to meet the immediate needs of the fast-crumbling walls.

In later years the present proprietors have expended much care and many hundred pounds to save this fine monument from further decay. The site of Sweetheart Abbey is one of particular charm. Like so many abbeys of the Cistercian order, it stands on the sheltered side of a range of wooded hills, in the midst of smooth fields, the Pow Burn running through its precinct, to the bay at the mouth of the Nith only a short mile away. Thus we



SWEETHEART ABBEY FROM THE HELDS TO THE NORTHEAST.

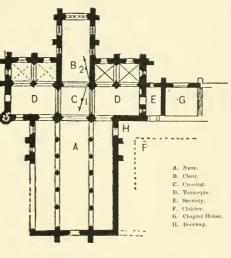
have the usual setting of the home of the White Monk: hills for shelter, forest for fuel, fields for harvest, and a burn to furnish food for the fast-days. The ruin lies some six miles south from Dumfries. The traveller may leave that fresh, clean, thriving town by an ancient bridge over the Nith, built by the foundress of the abbey, and preserving large portions of the original construction; he then passes through a part of Maxwelltown, and pursues his way along a well-built highroad, with verdant fields and pastures on either hand, through stately avenues of elms and limes, past well-kept country seats, and over a hill from which a glorious view is gained, looking backward toward the town, which is really picturesque for a manufacturing place, to the left over level stretches of brown and purple marshlands brightened here and there by brilliant bits of scarlet and gold, where clusters of blossoms spring from the rich moist soil, and forward to the majestic group of fells that mount up toward the crest of Criffel's great dome. Descending, he soon enters a dense wood thickly grown with underbrush, where it is dark and still; then, as he comes once more into full light of day, the ponderous mass of the abbey's tower salutes him, standing across the burn only a few yards away.

The ruin of this once extensive monastery preserves its church edifice more nearly complete than any of the ruined abbeys. The roofs have, of course, all disappeared; the north aisle wall has been demolished, most of the aisle vaults have perished too, and the clerestory in some places has fallen down; but restore these few details and you have the perfect church structure of the fourteenth century.

The plan is of that interesting type that seems to have been adopted for all the abbeys of the first magnitude founded in the thirteenth century, and, in choir and transepts, bears a striking similarity to the plan of Pluscarden Abbey: a twoaisled nave of six bays with four massive piers at the crossing, broad transepts with eastern aisle of two bays on either side

of the choir, and an aisleless choir terminating flatly toward the east.

The system of the nave consists of a dignified arcade of broad, rather low arches, above which a plain wall occupies the position of the triforium, as is often seen in the Italian Gothic churches, and as we have seen once before in Scotland, as the reader may re-



PLAN OF SWEETHEART ABBEY.

member, at Haddington. The dignified and richly ornate clerestory was designed with three coupled, trefoiled arches above each of the main arches, with a narrow space of wall between the groups, and a continuous moulding carried over the arches and across the wall surface. A passageway runs between these arches and the clerestory windows on the outside wall. The sills of these windows are elevated much above the clerestory level within; for the aisle roofs were steep and high, and the openings themselves consist of three uniform lancets in the older portions and five of various height embraced by a semicircle in the later. The north aisle wall, as already stated, has been carried away, but enough has been spared near its east end to show that it was pierced with five large windows. The opposite wall is unbroken except by a doorway in the easternmost bay, which led to the cloister. It is of interest to notice how frequently the wall of the nave, which provided light through a set of arch openings, has completely disappeared from the majority of these churches, while the solid wall toward the cloister is almost invariably intact. The west front, so often demolished in these abbeys, is here preserved to the summit of its gable. A pointed doorway of diminutive size afforded entrance, but the two stories above, once completely filled by a huge traceried window, in later years partially walled up, now consist of three pointed openings with remnants of tracery, separated by small buttresses in its lower half and a delicate wheel of tracery beneath the original broad arch, which may have constituted part of the original tracery. The apex of the gable is pierced by a trefoil opening within a triangle.

The tower piers are a fine set of clustered shafts, somewhat broken near the ground, and the four great arches above them carry a massive, square tower with crenellated parapet intact and two steep gables rising within the battlements; small rectangular windows pierce the tower on either side of the line of the very steep roofs and in the gabled tops.



THE NAVE, LOOKING WEST. From Point 1 on Plan.

The transept is conceded to be the oldest portion of the church. The eastern aisle was vaulted, and two of these vaults are preserved in the southern arm. It is plain that the arrangement of stories here was the same as in the nave, though the clerestory is greatly dilapidated. The aisle windows are low, pointed, and broad, probably similar to the north aisle openings. The north transept has a little doorway leading to the fields, with a tall pointed window above it and another with the segmental top in the gable. In the western angle a stair tower extends well above the wall and terminates in a decorated turret.

The south end has a number of small windows and a doorway leading to the sacristy; high up on the wall a decorated wheel window has been partly blocked up by the gable of the domestic buildings. The eastern aisle is separated from the choir, on both sides, by a heavy wall, but beyond this the two remaining bays of the choir are airily built and richly decorated. The east window is of extreme breadth, divided by four mullions into five lancet lights, the central lancet extending above the crowns of the others. The low sweeping arch is richly moulded and filled with an unusual variety of delicate geometrical tracery remarkably preserved, despite its lightness. The four side windows are uniform in size, being carried up to the clerestory level, and are richly moulded and traceried like the east window. All have flanking shafts very slender and delicately capped. Above the side windows can be seen the remnants of a passage at the same level as the clerestory in other portions of the edifice, which would indicate that the clerestory was uniform throughout the church. In the gable

of the choir a broad, round-headed window with remnants of tracery once more illustrates the persistence of the semicircular arch in the later Scottish Gothic work.

The range of domestic buildings to the south is represented in a fragment of the sacristy and the east wall of the chapter house, which preserves a tall. pointed window that has borne tracery. The keeper of the abbey told me that this was not in situ, but had been re-

situ, but had been removed from some other portion of the abbey. Across the green a single arched doorway, with niche above and escutcheons on either side, seems to mark the

M. BUSTALL

entrance to some structure that stood on the western side of the court.

From whatever point one views the abbey, the effect of the proportion is beautiful, and the relation of parts pleasing. The colour of the old red sandstone — brought from the Cumberland coast, it is said — is delightful in contrast with the deep green of the firs that stand as sentinels about the ruin. From the northeast these hues, seen against the purple slope of a spur of Criffel crowned with a gleaming shaft of white (the Waterloo monument), make a picture of rare beauty, one not soon to be forgotten.

There seems to be a general belief that the work upon Sweetheart Abbey was largely executed by foreign artists; that a band of Italian craftsmen was sent by the Pope for the special purpose of erecting Devorgilla's church. Mr. Primrose, who has prepared a guide to the abbey with far greater care and research than is usually expended upon this class of books, makes this statement without reserve, though he gives no authority for it. It is true that at the time the abbey was in process of construction it was the custom of Rome to provide artisans for the convenience of such as desired to erect religious edifices, and it is very possible that this and other buildings in Great Britain were executed by these foreign masons. The history of freemasonry is closely interwoven in this matter, but the relation of that fraternity to the Romish Church is not always easy to determine.

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It is said that the chief architect was one Maccolo, whose name was Scotticized to McCulloch, and who was the founder of the Scottish family of that name in Galloway. If this be true, the older portions of the abbey at least were erected by these foreigners and the designs for the whole edifice were drawn by Maccolo; for it was entirely completed upon one general scheme of design. This may account for certain individualities of style here displayed, — the unique form of tracery and the blank wall in the room of a triforium gallery.

We have conjectured that the choir and transepts at least were finished at the death of the foundress in 1289. There is a charm of simple dignity about the choir and transepts, but the details, many of them, manifest the weakness of the period. The squat form of the arches, which were struck from a point below the capitals, the manner in which the arch mouldings of the east window are allowed to die against the plain jambs, are two of the points which speak for lack of purity in style.

The next portion executed must have been the first two bays of the nave, for these are somewhat different from the rest. The scheme of design here is exactly similar to the older part, but the execution of details is much richer. The cusped arches of the clerestory are very richly moulded. Their spandrels contain well-carved heads, and the capitals of the slender colonettes are ornamented with varied naturalistic foliage in elegant design. This stage of the abbey's history brings us to the outbreak of King Edward's wars and the structure shows a break in construction; but the abbey itself seems to have suffered no direct violence and is known to have been protected by the invading monarch. After a time, building operations seem to have been resumed and the remainder of the nave with its west front and the tower were pushed to completion, the last in a militant style well in keeping with the spirit of the time. In later years, as we have recorded, the abbey suffered from a stroke of lightning, and was obliged to call upon the bishop of the diocese for aid. The abbey shows marks of reconstruction in the west window, as already recorded, and in the northern gable, where a window of pointed shape seems to have been renewed in segmental form. But as a whole Devorgilla's shrine seems to have been built in one unified style and pretty nearly all at one epoch. Its broad lines are fine and dignified; its details chaste and well employed. Few ruins in the North are more lovely than the youngest of Scotland's ruined abbeys.

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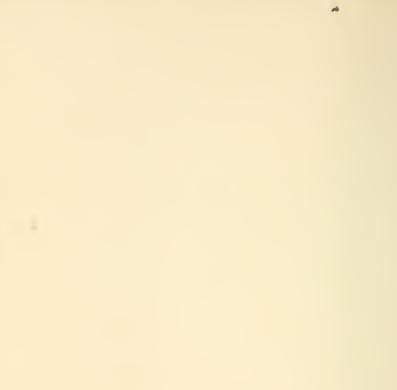
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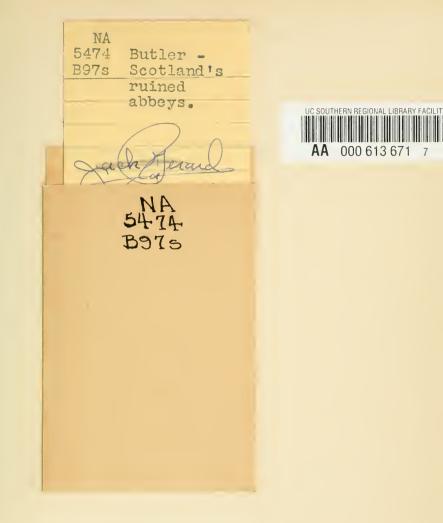
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